published monthly since 1866

The Fortnightly

FOUNDED IN 1865 BY ANTHONY TROLLOPE

FEBRUARY, 1950 CMLXLVIII N.S.

CONTENTS

Illinois U Library

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S POINT 4 — **PEARL S. BUCK**

TITOISM — **HUGH SETON-WATSON**

INDIA AT THE CROSS ROADS II : IS AN OPPOSITION ARISING IN INDIA ? — **A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT**

FREEDOM AND LAW — **SIR HENRY SLESSER**

THE POLITICS OF MIDDLE AGE — **R. D. CHARQUES**

BROADCASTING FOR SCHOOLS — **RICHMOND POSTGATE**

ASPECTS OF MEDIEVAL UNITY — **H. S. DEIGHTON**

RUSKIN — **GRACE BANYARD**

OVER THE WATER—*A Poem* — **PHOEBE HESKETH**

SIGNPOST TO NOWHERE — **C. HENRY WARREN**

The Fortnightly Library :

DEMOCRACY'S HANDMAID — **JOHN ARMITAGE**

Other Contributors : Ewan Wallis-Jones, S. Reed Brett, F. N. Keen, Gordon Winter, O. M. Green, Joseph Braddock, Derek Stanford, Muriel Spark, Grace Banyard.

PRICE 3s. 6d. or U.S.A 55 CENTS CANADA 60 CENTS

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

42s. PER ANNUM or U.S.A. $6.50 CANADA $7.00

ALL CLASSES OF INSURANCE TRANSACTED

CAR & GENERAL
INSURANCE CORPORATION LIMITED
83, PALL MALL, LONDON, S.W.1.

WHERE TO STAY

WELLINGTON HOTEL

TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

Delightfully situated at the summit of the Common facing South. Private suites at moderate terms. Lock-up Garage. Passenger Lift. First - class management.

Hot and cold water and gas fires in bedrooms.

UNSURPASSED FOR SITUATION AND SERVICE

Telephone : 1150. *Proprietors :* Trust Houses Ltd.

LASTINGHAM GRANGE HOTEL, YORKSHIRE

A charming country house on Yorkshire's beautiful moors. Own farm and garden produce. Genuine hospitality. Terms 5gns. to 8gns. Brochure sent on request. Tel. Lastingham 45.

LLANGOLLEN. Hand Hotel. One of the best in N. Wales. H. & C. water all rooms. Facing River Dee, free fishing (trout). A.A. & R.A.C. Tel. 3207.

CRIME AND BANDITRY, DISTRESS AND PERPLEXITY

WILL INCREASE

UNTIL THE BISHOPS OPEN JOANNA SOUTHCOTT'S BOX

What the Bible says about the Box and the Bishops :

"And the temple of God was opened.....and there was seen.....the Ark (Chest or Box) of his Testament (or Will)".

"And round about the Throne were four-and-twenty .....Elders (Bishops) sitting....(and they) fall down and cast their crowns (their wisdom) before the Throne". — *Rev. xi.*, 19; *iv.*, 4, 10.

Write for free leaflets to

THE PANACEA SOCIETY,

Bedford, England

TUBULAR STEEL

CHAIRS

AND

OFFICE FURNITURE

OF ALL KINDS

AVAILABLE FROM

GEERINGS

80, HIGH ST., ASHFORD

28, HIGH ST., MAIDSTONE

KENT

THE FORTNIGHTLY

FEBRUARY, 1950

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S POINT 4

BY PEARL S. BUCK

NEVER before in history has the whole world, at one time, come within range of the potentiality of to-day. Throughout centuries there have been interchange and mutual stimulation between sections, regional responses which brought Chinese ideas as well as goods to Greece, and Greek ideals and art to China. The similarity between the philosophies of a Jewish Jesus and a Chinese Confucius are not accidental. Greece had her day in India, and Persia made the amalgam. Roman conquerors looked eastward, and might have marched there, had not their own successes produced decadence and so downfall. Europe admired the Orient, and when England saw the richness of India, it was with envy and desire, and not with superiority. Whatever the cause of contact, whether peaceful or warlike, the result brought new life to the participants.

Perhaps any age seems unique to those who live in it, but I think that we who live now have a peculiar right to use the word. Never before has the earth been a whole, as it is to-day, nor has it appeared so to as many people. Slowly everywhere men and women, often unwillingly it is true, are coming to understand that peoples cannot be free of one another. The self-sufficient farmer in the United States is realizing that even he cannot maintain his way of living unless he sells his surplus harvests to people hungrier than he is. When the hungry are unable to buy, as in India and England, not from lack of money but from a disjointed currency, the American farmer begins to rebel as well as the hungry. Necessity is forcing upon us all a simplification of our complex international life. Nationalism is becoming a nuisance. Unless it is made flexible, it may even damage patriotism, by which it is maintained.

It is this demand for commonsense in practical international relationships which is forcing governments to take such steps as President Truman's Point 4. However adequately his plans are carried out, the fact remains that its mere announcement constitutes a recognition that the world is one. Sooner or later, depending upon economic pressure from peoples, the world will function as one. The first step, of course, will be economic. A flowing interchange of trade whereby people can be fed and clothed and sheltered is now inevitable, whatever the obstacles that will be placed by those

who have prospered by old conditions. Their day is gone, whether they know it or not. Tomorrow is only a brief space away.

Reluctantly even the prosperous are beginning to understand that " backward " peoples must be educated, and the undeveloped areas developed, if not for their own sake then for the sake of those who wish to maintain their present standards of living. Countries such as the United States, which produce more than their people can buy, at least at present prices, must be able to sell to outside peoples, and those peoples must be educated to the point of wanting the new goods and developed to the degree of being able to buy them. Crudely put, this is the vague idea behind much of the planning to-day. One may denounce the motives as selfish and short-sighted, but the human creature, at least in aggregate, is selfish and the rich and the powerful are of course selfish. Putting denunciation aside, the cheerful fact is that whatever the reasons for the determination to educate the illiterate peoples and develop the undeveloped areas, the process begins. Once begun, we may trust to the peoples, however backward they may be considered, to shape the process as it goes on, and in that shaping we shall all be modified. It will be impossible to have the Chinese peasant educated without his also educating us. The Chinese have educated more people than have ever educated them. India has already shown the unconquerable independence of her mind and spirit. In the contact that is now inevitable between the peoples of Occident and Orient the greatest change will come in the Occident. It will not be so visible, at first, as the change in the Orient. A refrigerator is a monstrously visible thing but the change in a man's attitude toward life is far more important and powerful.

The peoples who are lumped together into " the backward " are primarily those of Asia and Africa and secondarily some of the peoples of South America. True, it is conceded that in all countries there are spots of modern civilization, individuals of profound culture. There is no lack of admiration for these, no unwillingness to grant their superiority. In the average American, for example, there is to-day a humility almost touching toward such figures as Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, as formerly there was toward President and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek. There is a consciousness, almost endemic in Western peoples, that the great men and saints of the East " have something ". We can be quite wistful about this something, feeling it is a wisdom beyond us. Humility and wistfulness promptly disappear, however, when we contemplate the hut of the Indian peasant, the dusty village home of the Chinese. His instruments of living seem to us primitive to the point of absurdity. We do not understand that one reason why we are unable to grasp the greatness of the saint or sage is that we can consider the instruments of his life absurd. When Gandhi drank goats' milk and ate boiled spinach

and a handful of beans few of us understood or believed that he really preferred to do this, and that to him it was a better way of life than roasted meats upon a silver spread table.

We must not think that the people we consider backward consider themselves so for one moment. The Chinese, while pleased to observe our machines, will not want to complicate his life with most of them, except perhaps in extreme city conditions. A gas range may be as useful in a small two-room apartment in Shanghai as it is in New York. It cannot compare, as a means of cooking good food in the Chinese fashion—which let us admit is the best in the world—with an earthen oven, a couple of cauldrons, and plenty of quick firing grass, or for that matter a brazier of charcoals. Having achieved the height of sophistication, which is the ultimate in simplicity, it is not likely that the ancient peoples of the East will allow their ordered lives to become confused by much machinery. Any American woman who has too many gadgets in her kitchen will know what I mean. Simple instruments are the most efficient. The Chinese woman has them. If she takes to using cans she will, of course, need an American can opener, but she will probably prefer fresh food to canned, and a newly killed fowl to one from a freezer. On the other hand, the woman in India will doubtless welcome a refrigerator, because of the climate. But it must be within her economy, and she will not want to wait until her income reaches the figure sufficient to buy an American one, lest that be never. The firm who first puts on the Indian market a refrigerator which needs no electricity will make an immense profit.

To educate the backward peoples to the point of adopting American or European goods at current prices is therefore a dream that may never come to pass. In the first place, the backward peoples are, unfortunately for dreamers, not backward at all. Being old, they are clever and intelligent and worldly wise folk, whether or not they read and write. Literacy has not been a necessity for developing the mind, among most of the earth's peoples. The mind develops itself, if it is there.

I believe in universal literacy and consider it the primary duty of such bodies as UNESCO to bring it about, for only when the world's peoples are all literate can there be world communication through literature and news. Universal literacy is essential for peace and understanding. To the individual mind it adds resources, but it is not an essential. Some of the wisest and most sophisticated minds I have known belonged to persons who could not read and write and were far less backward actually than I was myself. True, if people can read, they can read advertisements, and advertisements, it is said, stir the desire to possess goods. It may be so. But wise people are usually without the desire to possess more than they can use.

Simplicity is part of the religion and philosophy of the very countries which to-day are called backward. Since these religions and philosophies have existed for thousands of years and have grown out of the life of the people who possess them, it is not likely that pictures of electric apparatus and beauty-rest mattresses will soon disturb them.

Yet there is a real soundness in the slowly forming desire of President Truman to increase the material benefits of life for peoples in the undeveloped areas. It would not be wise, however, to forward such action purely upon selfish premises. China, for example, needs food but only temporarily. It is a widespread myth, repeated in the highest places, that the chief problem of the Chinese people is hunger. This is not true. The primary need is not for food, but first for peace and then for better roads. China has or can have plenty of food. Generally speaking, she has the richest soil in the world. Over forty centuries of farming her soil has been maintained. True, she has allowed her land to become eroded in some sections, but it is a relatively small area in proportion to her total farm land. Anyone who lived in China before the late war must have been impressed daily with the wonder and the variety of the food markets. The variety in vegetables alone was far greater than in an average American market, or even indeed in our so-called super-markets. Of water and land tubers the Chinese eat a score and more, of nuts and fruits and leafy plants several times as many as Americans eat. Of fish and meats they know as palatable many that we reject, and they find proteins where we do not suspect them. Food is not only an essential to the Chinese, it is a pleasure, and fine cookery, even among the lowly, is a tradition. When I look at the poor pasty product which Americans call our daily bread and remember the many kinds of Chinese bread, dark and light, baked and steamed and browned in deep fat, I wonder which is the backward people. China is a land rich in food and the Chinese are generous feeders. Their famines have always come not from an actual shortage of food but from disasters such as flood, drought, or war. Communicatons are so poor that food cannot be supplied from another region quickly enough or easily enough to mend local damage, and this accounts for the refugees who pour from one part into another in a famine. It was actually cheaper, in the last famine in which I took part in relieving, to ship grain across the Pacific Ocean from the United States than it was to carry it on donkey and man back from another province three hundred miles away, where there was plenty of food for sale.

China needs roads. A network of good motor roads and the vehicles to use on them in addition to a few vital railways and airlines would solve her food problems. Her agriculture is highly developed.

Modern agriculture has not much to teach the Chinese farmer beyond some methods in seed selection and insect and disease control. In fertilization he is a master, but he needs to be taught that human manure cannot be applied direct to soil from which food is taken. There must be an intermediary step to prevent the carrying of germs. In north China this lesson has already been learned.

Nor is land distribution a primary problem in China. In spite of much talk to the contrary, comparatively little of China's land is in the hands of big owners. The average farm is small and intensely cultivated. Primogeniture is not the rule. A man's land at his death is divided between all his sons, but it is recognized that at least five acres is needed to maintain a family, and sons scatter to other jobs than farming, maintaining the home nevertheless upon the land.

China does need material development of a few vast but simple sorts. Industrially she ought not to allow herself to make plans for highly centralized industries. Her people will be happier and richer if they develop many small decentralized plants. It is always dangerous for an agricultural people to pass quickly into industry. They have not the weapons wherewith to defend themselves against exploitation. They must not allow themselves to become merely cheap labour, either to their own kind or to foreigners, and it should be the concern of all of us that this does not happen.

India is very different indeed from China. There the agriculture is really undeveloped, and the soil has not been made to adapt itself to the difficult climatic conditions. I shall never forget my dismay once when visiting India in February to discover that in spite of heat, in which crops could certainly grow and mature, vast areas were dry and useless, supporting not even the bone-thin cattle that wandered upon their surfaces. Water was the lack. Yet to-day there need not be lack of water anywhere. Science can and should work to produce water from reservoirs and seas, and deep wells can be driven by co-operative means. The firm that first devises a way to drive deep wells cheaply and co-operatively in an Indian village and provides pipes cheaply enough for irrigation will make a fortune.

Medical service is of course needed everywhere. It is a problem not yet solved even in the United States, where medical research strides ahead with its astounding and comforting discoveries for human ills, although much of what is discovered is still beyond the power of the average citizen to buy without mortgaging all he possesses. The very poor receive charity, the rich buy what they like, but the average man dreads doctor's bills. This is as much a problem as is the almost total lack of hospitals in China and the short span of life in India and Africa. Medicine and medical knowledge must be taken out of the markets and put at the service of mankind. It is hypocritical to cry out at the backwardness of some peoples, who

have no means of knowledge, when we ourselves have the knowledge and will not use it except for a price.

Primary in the Eastern countries, too, and especially in China, is the need for the development of a spirit of service to mankind, which will provide satisfaction sufficient for educated young men and women to be willing to undergo the isolations of living in country places. In addition to the skills taught in great modern medical centres, where every facility has been developed, we need even more the skill which can teach a graduate how to use what he knows in an Indian or Javanese village, where he must fashion his own tools and build his own hospital. A few have done so, but such deeds are produced first by spiritual energy, and in modern medicine there is far too little of the necessary spirit. I fear to think of young doctors from the countries which need them most, learning modern medicine and the attitudes which seem to go with it. A sacrificial heart is absolutely essential if the peoples are to be served and led toward better health and longer lives, and if the children are not to die, most of them before they live a year.

And will there not be more people then than the earth can support ? This is said often and much discussed, but actually it is the master myth of our times. Robert Owen, the great English industrialist, said in *A New View of Society*, published in 1812 :

> The fear of any evil to rise from an excess of population until such time as the whole earth shall become a cultivated garden, will, on due and accurate investigation prove a mere phantom of the imagination, calculated solely to keep the worker in unnecessary ignorance, vice and crime. . . . It is the artificial law of supply and demand, arising from the principle of individual gain in opposition to the wellbeing of society which has hitherto compelled population to press on subsistence.

Owen was hated and ostracised by his fellow industrialists for speaking these words and for practising ways to prove them true ; individual gain has always and will always oppose the wellbeing of society if it is allowed to do so. Meanwhile a small but honest group of scientists to-day are struggling to make themselves heard in corroboration of what Robert Owen said more than a hundred years ago. They are telling us that the earth is not over-populated, that far more food can be grown on the land, that the sea is a vast storehouse of food scarcely touched, that science has only just begun to produce food. The most casual traveller in Canada, for example, cannot but be impressed with the monstrous loss to the world in the vast land there unused. Thousands of square miles of forest continue on fine fertile soil, and thousands of square miles more stand burned and naked and useless. Canada herself would benefit by a flood of farming people, who could add immeasurable quantities of food to the world's store beside feeding themselves and their families. All large countries, including the United States, have great unused

territories, not to speak of the areas which are carelessly and wickedly farmed. South America is scarcely touched agriculturally. It is said that Brazil alone, if adequately farmed, could feed the world. Even in China there are lands which could be used for food and are idle. In India, as I have said, the land is producing a minimum of what it could. The same is true of Australia.

Food being the first problem of the world's peoples, it should and can be easily solved. But there are those who profit from the very existence of the problem, and these will naturally oppose solution. They are short-sighted through fear. A world at ease for all will be a safer world for all. The one profound and real difficulty is in the unwillingness of a relatively few, but powerful and articulate, persons to cast their individual lot with the well-being of society. In any community one finds one or two of these persons, outnumbered always, and yet holding somehow the reigns of power. Plans have been made, blue prints are ready, resources are available for the new day, but the conductors will not give the signal.

I do not know what the answer is to this one most grave problem. I stand steadfastly against the violence of revolutions and liquidations. The desired end to anything never comes if the means be foul. I have therefore no suggestion and it may be that all I have said and advocated fails because of this. Yet I reflect that these persons are few, though powerful, and that in any community if the people be sufficiently sure of what they must have they can and do prevail. Since peoples are now aroused by knowing that it is entirely possible for all to be well fed, educated and well governed, time may not save these few, as it has in the past. While I do not believe that there are any backward peoples, I know that there are great undeveloped areas in our world. The emphasis needs to be put upon the development of these areas, physically in communications, food and public health ; mentally in literacy and cultural interchange, and spiritually in mutual understanding and willingness to sacrifice. I know, too, that there is the means for this development, and it is simple in action. The United Nations and its agencies can direct the development of food and plenty, with young men at their command. Of public health we know well enough how to drive major diseases from the globe. James Yen in China has devised and proved a simple means to literacy, and others have done as much in other countries. We are ready to march forward, as soon as " the artificial law of supply and demand, arising from the principal of individual gain in opposition to the well-being of society " allows it.

(The author writes this article by arrangement with UNESCO.)

TITOISM

By Hugh Seton-Watson

EIGHTEEN months have passed since the Cominform denounced Marshal Tito, and he is still in power. Economic boycott, incitement to his subjects to revolt, and solemn anathemas from the holy fathers of Marxism-Leninism in the Kremlin, have failed to dislodge him. For this there are two main reasons.

The first is the patriotism of the Yugoslav peoples. Though Serbs, Croats and Slovenes are probably less united in mutual friendship, less completely cured of their former nationalisms, than outwardly appears, at least none of them wish to become colonies of the U.S.S.R. The experiences of 1941-1944 discredited the belief, held between the world wars by some Yugoslavs, especially Croats, that domination by a foreign great power would be more tolerable than misrule from Belgrade. Soviet treatment of the " popular democracies " is hardly likely to revive it. Even the two non-Slav minorities—the Hungarians of Voivodina and the Albanians of Kosovo—and the pro-Bulgarian elements in Macedonia, do not seem to feel much enthusiasm for cominformist rule as represented by MM. Rákosi, Hoxha and Chervenkov.

The second reason for Marshal Tito's survival is the loyalty of the military and civil services. The Yugoslav army and bureaucracy of to-day were created during the national and civil war of 1941-1945. The courage and success of the National Liberation Movement attracted thousands of young men and women who had no political affiliation at all, as well as those who had conscious sympathy for the communists. In the partisan forces courage, initiative and leadership brought quick promotion. In the civilian " liberation committees " which administered the regions cleared of enemy troops, the same qualities were rewarded. It is of course true that both army and civilian administration were controlled from the beginning by the Communist Party. But the party itself greatly increased its numbers. The recruits came from these " new elements ", especially from the poor peasantry of the backward, over-populated and semi-desert mountain provinces of Bosnia, Hercegovina, Montenegro and Dalmatia, who under the old Yugoslavia had been economically neglected and excluded from political life. Marshal Tito's movement gave them opportunities of which they had never dreamed.

They now enjoy power, responsibility and —at least in comparison with the past—comfort. Everything they owe to him. They are communists because they admire him, not his followers because they are communists. To them the Communist Party was Marshal Tito's creation, through which they had become important people, and through which Yugoslavia was to become a great country. Personal ambition, nationalism and the desire for social renovation combine to strengthen the loyalty of these men and women to Marshal Tito. An attack on him from outside is an attack on themselves and on their country.

The most striking difference between the men who lead the Yugoslav and the other East European communist parties is that the Yugoslavs were in their own country during the war, leading the fight for liberation, while the others were in exile in the U.S.S.R. and came back in the baggage-train of the Red Army. Dimitrov, Kolarov, Poptomov and Chervenkov of Bulgaria ; Vasile Luca and Ana Pauker of Rumania ; Gottwald, Kopecky, Nejedly of Czechoslovakia ; Berman, Zambrowsky and Minc of Poland ; Rákosi, Gerö and Révai of Hungary—all are " Muscovites ". So also are Bierut of Poland, Bodnarash of Rumania and Slansky of Czechoslovakia, who paid brief visits to their occupied countries before the end of the war, but were trained and domiciled in Russia. The only East European communists of importance to-day who were not exiles in Russia are the Czech Zápotocky (who was in a German concentration camp), the Rumanian Gheorghiu-Dej (who was interned in Rumania), and the Bulgarian Yugov (who was an active resistance leader). These three, though powerful, are probably not decisive figures in their parties. And they have no doubt observed the fate which has overtaken three men who played leading parts in what communist resistance there was in their respective lands—Kostov of Bulgaria, Rajk of Hungary and Gomulka of Poland.

The only Yugoslav communist leader who has spent considerable periods in Russia is Marshal Tito himself. And he was brought by the guerrilla war of 1941-1944 into such contact with the " working masses " of his own country as he had never known during his years as a faithful agent of the Comintern. Having become the " people's hero " he had no wish to revert to the humbler rôle of Comintern stooge. And if he had outgrown his Muscovite background, the vast majority of Yugoslav party members, of all ranks, had never been Muscovites at all.

Equally important is the contrast between the armies of Yugoslavia and the " people's democracies ". Several of the generals and senior political commissars of Marshal Tito's army received their training in communist international units in the Spanish civil war. Some may have had some training in Russia, and many went for

courses to the U.S.S.R. in 1945-1948. But few if any have served for long periods under Soviet military command. The nucleus of the armies of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Hungary to-day consists of units formed on Soviet soil from prisoners and exiles between 1941 and 1945. The Polish army has been officered at the highest levels since 1944 by Russians and by Poles who have lived for many years in exile in Russia. The appointment of Marshal Rokossovsky to the Polish War Ministry is only the culmination of the process. Even in the Bulgarian army, which, though ruthlessly purged in 1946-1947, has perhaps been less drastically reorganized than the others, former Soviet citizens occupy several key commands.

The only exception among the " popular democracies " is Albania, where, as in Yugoslavia, resistance leaders hold the chief positions in both party and army. But since the breach with Marshal Tito the Soviet leaders have taken precautions about Albania. The small country is flooded with Soviet military and technical (including police) " specialists ". It is already in effect a Soviet colony. This poor and backward Moslem State is in a position not unlike the Soviet Central Asiatic republics. It might be called the " Kirghizistan of the Adriatic ".

The breach of June 1948 came from the Soviet side. Marshal Tito and his friends did not wish to quarrel with the Soviet Union. But the petty matters of prestige and sordid gain, revealed in the published Tito-Cominform correspondence, and in the subsequent speeches made on both sides, were considered sufficiently important in Moscow to make an enemy of a government whose country is of great importance in European strategy.

The hostility to the U.S.S.R., and *rapprochment* with the west, into which, despite his obvious reluctance, Marshal Tito has been forced by the Kremlin's attitude, have wholly benefited the western powers. The Moscow-dictated denunciation of him by the Greek rebels sealed their fate. His closure of the Greek-Yugoslav frontier last July, though accompanied by truculent abuse of the Athens Government, made possible the victory of the Greek army against the communists. It is now Albania which is encircled. Miserably poor, dependent for supplies on ships from the Baltic and Black Seas, faced with the hostility of the mountain tribes, Enver Hoxha's position is far from enviable. Bulgaria too is weak. Economic troubles are serious and the bureaucracy is being drastically reorganized since the " unmasking " of Kostov. Three of Bulgaria's neighbours—Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey—are justifiably hostile to her. The mountains on her southern and western borders provide excellent terrain for a " Markos movement in reverse " against the

bloodthirsty régime of the late Dimitrov's brother-in-law, Vlko Chervenkov.

It is not only in the Balkans that the effects of the Tito schism are beneficial to the west. Absence of an independent and loyal administration, and unfavourable geography make a successful revolt by " nationally-minded " communists in other East European countries extremely improbable. But the Tito affair, and the recent cases of Kostov, Rajk and Gomulka, have created a pathological condition of suspicion and fear inside all the communist parties, especially at the higher levels. The suspiciousness of the Soviet and satellite communists is a magnificent weapon for the western governments. The communists suffer from a peculiar form of inverted naivety. So determined are they not to be " suckers ", not to be taken in by the wiles and blandishments and signs of friendliness of the western infidel, that they will believe absolutely any story provided that it places westerners in an unfavourable light. It should not be beyond the resources of western policy to lay enough false trails to help on the process of cannibalism which is already so well developed in the communist parties.

The schism is also beginning to have its effect in the communist parties of western countries, especially among the numerous and gifted intellectual section of the French party. It is interesting to recall that the French Communist Party had a majority of the French working class two years after the 1914-1918 war, but lost ground in the mid-'twenties mainly as a result of purges dictated by the Comintern from Moscow. Already in 1923 a group of the expelled published a warning against the attempt of Moscow " to alienate and abolish critical sense and the spirit of discussion " within the party ranks. The repression of nationalist deviationism by the Moscow holy office of 1949 is far more rigid and dictatorial than the efforts of Zinoviev 25 years ago. Should the anti-Titoist zeal of the Cominform break up the western communist parties, leaving on one side a minority of Muscovite puppets and making possible on the other side the revival of true and powerful socialist movements, this would be of immense benefit to western Europe. Such a development, far from strengthening reaction—as the communists and their apologists claim—would strengthen democracy. The existence of strong communist parties in France and Italy is of great value to the extreme right, as it convinces many Frenchmen and Italians that the only choice is between rebellion and reaction. There can be no escape from this dilemma until the communists are " unmasked " —to use one of the favourite words of the *Agitprop* department in Moscow—and clearly shown to be, not an alternative form of socialists, not in fact socialists at all, but—to use their own jargon again—" enemies of the people ", " conscious or unconscious

diplomacy abandon their friends, they will earn not the gratitude of Marshal Tito but his contempt. The Yugoslav communist leaders often stress the independent and original nature of their policy. While recognizing their debts to Marx, Lenin and even Marshal Stalin, they insist that the " construction of Socialism " and " progress towards Communism " in Yugoslavia differ from the similar processes in Russia and other countries. The Yugoslav peoples, they claim, will under Marshal Tito's leadership find their own way through Socialism to Communism. Marshal Tito has an opportunity of showing his originality, and of marking the difference between his régime and that of the Kremlin, by generosity to his former rivals and opponents, by giving freedom of speech to those who, while eager to defend Yugoslavia's independence and to modernize and develop her economy, are yet not Marxists, and value the friendship of the west. Such generosity would be all the easier as blame for the injustices of the past could—and probably with considerable justification—be placed on the cominformists and on Soviet influence.

Western policy should aim at increasing the power of Yugoslavia to resist. Economic, diplomatic and military help are equally necessary. The diplomatic influence of the western powers should be used to induce Marshal Tito's government to take such steps as will increase, not diminish, the moral and material strength of his country. Above all the western powers should make it clear to the Soviet Union and her satellites that they are interested in the preservation of Yugoslavia's independence. A Munich in Yugoslavia would be disastrous : misunderstanding in Moscow of western intentions might be even worse.

(*The author is a Fellow of University College, Oxford, and Praelector in Politics.*)

INDIA AT THE CROSS ROADS

II. IS AN OPPOSITION ARISING IN INDIA ?

By A Special Correspondent

POLITICS, including party politics, has been the business of the educated and the city dweller in India. The agricultural masses have been too oppressed and too ill-informed to comprehend issues beyond their daily troubles. They may have identified their problems with this or that local movement but no nation-wide organization represents the Indian agricultural masses. Yet, out of every hundred citizens of the Indian Union ninety live in villages and about seventy-five are dependent for their livelihood on the land. The inevitable social and economic changes which will rectify India's tragic situation must have strong roots in an agricultural movement and no party may justly claim national leadership which is not intimately associated with the aspirations of India's huge majority. Universal adult suffrage will open the door through which Indian politics will move out to the countryside.

This political shift comes parallel with the rapid decline in the influence and prestige of the sole great party.* The coincidence of these two factors wraps India's political future in an uncertainty which is further complicated by international forces rapidly changing the political landscape beyond India's borders.

There is no immediate likelihood that India's 190 million prospective voters, nine out of ten of whom will be illiterate, will vote Congress out of power. Careful management of electoral registers, lavish use of Gandhi's picture on banners and posters, Pandit Nehru's nation-wide appeal and last but not least Sardar Patel's not too tender police will see to that. Some of the big cities, containing India's industrial proletariat, will probably vote socialist but on the whole there is likely to remain a comfortable Congress majority.

Barring the use of oppressive measures beyond what may be expected, the principal by-product of India's first general election under adult suffrage will be the establishment of the Socialist Party as an opposition offering an alternative to Congress rule. Formerly the left wing of Congress, India's socialists broke away in frustration and are rapidly canalizing the discontent of the masses. Their leader, Jayaprakash Narayan, one of the few Indian politicians combining intelligence with integrity, is regarded by many as the man of the future. He is perhaps the only Indian leader with an American

* See the first article " Decline of Congress in India " in the January issue of The Fortnightly, by the same author.

education. In municipal and by-elections of the last two years the socialists scored remarkable successes. Under Asoka Nehta, General Secretary of the *Hind Mazdoor Sabha*, the socialist affiliated unions, they gained control of a number of influential trade unions. The honesty and integrity of their leaders, like Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia for example, lends them an air of sincerity badly needed in the India of to-day. Indicating a broad outline of their programme, Jayaprakash Narayan declared himself* for " drastic " agrarian reform with ownership of the land vested in the tillers of the soil.† He advocated the immediate nationalization of banks, insurance companies and the key industries, including mines. He stands for a planned economy with both free enterprise and nationalized sectors. He would develop small scale industries within a co-operative movement and would want rapid and large scale industrialization of the country. In foreign politics he does not believe in " passive neutrality " but in the active building of a third, Asian, block in co-operation with " the suppressed people of Africa and possibly some democratic socialist forces in Europe and America." India's socialists stand unmistakably for peaceful, reformist development though Jayaprakash Narayan had this to say on their methods : " You may not be aware of it but the Socialist Party has already made up its mind to use democratic methods to achieve its ends. These methods include, among other things, *satyagraha* (non-violent resistance)‡, peaceful strikes and non-payment of taxes. However, as I warned in my statement, if the Congress were to continue to suppress the liberties of the people and to grow more and more fascist, nothing and nobody could stop violence and sabotage in this country." At a public meeting in Calcutta on August 7, he went further : " If the Congress continued to be in power for a few years more and carried on in the manner in which it is doing, the Congress itself would be responsible for plunging the country into chaos just as the Kuomintang did in China." About the same time Jayaprakash Narayan categorically denied in Calcutta probably Government-inspired talk about the socialists' willingness to form coalition governments with Congress " either in the centre or in provincial governments." The most recent and most hopeful development is the increased interest in the socialists shown in the villages. An organizational drive among peasants is under way and only recently they have organized an orderly march of large numbers of *kisans* (agricultural workers) on Lucknow to protest against the so-called " *zamindari* abolition scheme " of the United Provinces.

---

* At a press conference in Bombay on 26.8.1949.

† He is reported to believe 20 acres sufficient as maximum holding and would pay compensation to the smaller owners but not to the great *zamindars*.

‡ In a letter to the periodical *Thought*, July 30, 1949.

All this is healthy development. But it is often questioned whether the socialists have really clear-cut ideas on how to translate into practice their principles or how they would tackle the overpowering problem of lack of trained and honest administrative or technical personnel. Nor is it clear beyond generalization how they wish to carry out rapid land distribution or how they would abolish mass-illiteracy. The field work of some enthusiasts or the devotion of vocal leaders is no assurance that the Party's performance in power would be as beneficial as it is in opposition. The anaemic nature of their pamphlets and the luke-warm speeches of some of their leaders do not always show them sufficiently aware of the urgency and explosive nature of India's social problems. In fact, many observers believe that India's socialists are showing the same indecision, hesitation and comfortable idealism which caused their European confreres in a number of countries to lose peasant and even working-class leadership to the less scrupulous but much more energetic communists.

It is often maintained that India's problems must be treated with a combination of coercion and education applied in the right mixture and at the correct speed. Against the undoubtedly honest but perhaps not sufficiently radical approach of the socialists, more coercion and even violence is offered from two sides ; by the communists from the left of the socialists and by the R.S.S. (*Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh*) from the right of Congress. With the red river on Asia's map flowing every day closer to India's borders the violence threatened by the Communist Party of India is of special significance. Banned before the war, they emerged during it when, in opposition to Gandhi's civil disobedience movement, they co-operated with the Allied war-effort after Germany's attack on the Soviet Union. Following the war they concentrated on constructive field work, fighting for agrarian reforms and spreading literacy in villages, while Congressmen were busy preaching the same principles from armchairs in New Delhi. During the Bengal famine of 1943, their selfless and non-communal relief work earned the praise of all. Although strongly disagreeing with their methods and policy, not even Gandhi could deny their devotion. " I know your worth," he wrote.* " You have very able young men and women, as selfless as I would claim to be. You are all hard working and possess great energy and you impose strict discipline on your workers. All this I prize and admire . . ." But a few months after Independence their policies changed.† The " moderate deviationist " P. C. Joshi was replaced by the strict party-liner B. T. Ramadive as general secretary. The new line quickly revealed itself

* From " Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and P. C. Joshi," a communist published pamphlet.

† Many observers date it from the International Youth Conference at Calcutta in March 1948, which was attended by a large Russian delegation.

its racial phraseology, the *Times of India* differed : all this " smacks of the *Kultur* which the Nazis once sought to deify and which perished with the rubble to which the Germany of Hitler was reduced." " The exaltation of preservation of the caste system is among Mr. Golwalkar's more cherished ideals" commented the same source on November 19.

On one of the few occasions when the " chief " of the R.S.S. was not indulging in obscure glorification of " Hindu culture ", he declared that he was opposed to nationalization of industries* and was against " democracy with an uneducated electorate." He also found " adult franchise inadvisable " in the India of to-day and was evasive on the question of land reform, declaring enigmatically that " the criterion should be the betterment of the lot of the farmers."

Alarmed by the R.S.S.'s war-mongering anti-Muslim incitement and its regressive social policies, Pandit Nehru told a press conference on August 5, 1949, at New Delhi, " frankly we do not trust the R.S.S. very much and we shall keep a very vigilant outlook in regard to it." His plural, however, could hardly refer to his Cabinet colleagues as some of them expressed opposite sentiments only a few days before. Even more peculiar was the appeal of Mr. R. K. Patil, Food Commissioner in charge of the nation's food drive, to the R.S.S. for assistance in the grow more food campaign. " This, one must say, is a very unusual procedure for a high functionary of the Government of India, for the appeal has been issued only to one particular political or semi-political party in the land. Apart from this incongruity, the immediate activities of the R.S.S. merit close attention "—complained the *Times of India* on August 25. A few weeks later, in the absence of Pandit Nehru, in the United States, the Congress Working Committee decided to permit members of the Party, which excites public opinion against India's 40 million Muslim minority and which was banned for its association with Gandhi's murderers, to join Congress. It was the symbolic burial of the Gandhian purist and a decisive Congress step towards the right.

The passionate devotion this Party of muddle-headed religious fanatics evokes in millions of refugees, is a fact. India's lack of discipline may seek its escape in the mystical discipline of chauvinist regimentation. Moreover it is certain that with the inevitable growth of Socialism in India large numbers of Congressmen and propertied Indians will see an ally in the R.S.S., similar to the situation in pre-Hitlerian Germany. In Bengal and the Punjab, where refugees live in large numbers, R.S.S. influence is on the increase. In the country as a whole its influence is still limited and only slight in the south. With its obscurantist appeal wrapped in the cultural and racial flattery familiar to fascist movements, and with the material support that may be forthcoming from the classes considering them-

* At a press-conference, Lucknow, September 1, 1949.

selves threatened by Socialism, the RS.S. may become very important.

Apart from these three large opposition parties, a multitude of local and provincial organizations pass across the Indian political stage. They are usually small parties attached to personalities rather than to any political creed. One of them merits special attention. Since his success last June in the South-Calcutta by-elections, which administered a heavy blow to tottering Congress prestige in Bengal, Sarat Chandra Bose's Republican Socialist Party claimed much publicity.* S. C. Bose, supported by a motley crew of discontents, local leaders and splinter parties, held in October 1949 a so-called United Socialist Congress in Calcutta. His aim was to create a united left-wing platform " as a logical antithesis against the consolidation of the right which the Indian National Congress represents to-day." He declared that his congress, once in power, would scrap India's new Constitution and frame a " Constitution of the Union of Socialist Republics of India." In a 17-point policy statement, on the whole following the socialists' programme, he also demanded that India leave the British Commonwealth, the immediate distribution of the land without compensation, and free education for all. He said that his union was out " to combat an orgy of power worship, a fury of autocratic misrule and a fanaticism of mass exploitation." This attempt to bring about a united left front against Congress has not progressed far yet. Though Asoka Mehta and other labour leaders have participated in some of S. C. Bose's "unity" meetings, Jayaprakash Narayan and Dr. Lohia have clearly stated that the socialists will not submerge their individuality in any united left front. Owing to Bengal's troubled condition and to the proximity of this " problem province " of India to communist-controlled areas in China and Burma, S. C. Bose's activities merit special attention.

Although no party has emerged in India as yet threatening the rule of Congress, three of them are growing into that rôle. Also a tendency towards left and right political polarization on the European pattern is noticeable. In the case of some kind of working arrangement between the left-wing opposition parties at the coming general elections, Congress rule in some provinces, particularly in Bengal, may be threatened. Without such co-operation, however, there is no likelihood of Congress being constitutionally removed from power in the near future.

(*The third and last article " Will India take the China Road ? " will be published in the March issue of* THE FORTNIGHTLY.)

* One of the three Bose brothers, the political darlings of Bengal, Subhas Chandra Bose, a brilliant intellectual who attained to Congress Presidency in 1938, then broke with Gandhi, joined the Japanese against Britain and died as an avowed fascist in a Japanese plane crash in 1945, became an Indian national hero and his popularity is hardly rivalled in India to-day. S. C. Bose is cashing in on his brother's posthumous popularity, particularly strong in Bengal.

very open to question, but there would appear to be no other method except the edict of a Minister.

As a rule English law hesitates to recognize offences not expressly defined by common law or statute, but an exception exists in the case of what is known as public mischief, such as arises where a person falsely informs the police of a crime imagined by the informer. The procedure would appear to be founded on a dictum in 1801 that " all offences of a public nature, as attempts to the prejudice of the community are actionable." It is observed, says the learned judge by way of analogy, that the Soviet code in Article 16 provides that " any act socially dangerous, is to be dealt with on the same basis as the offences it most closely resembles "—this is where there is no direct provision in the code. An attack upon a religious community, not at present in law libellous, has been treated as a criminal public mischief ; the judge and not the jury being the deciding authority. On this Lord Justice Denning comments : " All the good done by Fox's Libel Act 1792—that the whole matter is for the jury, if this dictum be correct would be done away with by a side wind." The lecturer has great confidence that a jury " can be trusted to know where to draw the line." With every respect, I doubt this ; I lack that confidence in juries which the Lord Justice possesses and in any case, it is not to be forgotten that over 90 per cent. of criminal charges take place at petty sessions before justices where there is no jury to find the facts—not that justices are always to be relied upon either.

Nevertheless the lecturer declares that " time and time again the jury has been found to be our only safeguard against harsh laws." But what does this mean? In a State where Parliament is sovereign, laws, whether harsh or lenient, are not to be evaded by juries, or by judges either. For good or ill, since the decay of the medieval reference to the natural law as nullifying laws contrary to it, we have been driven to rely upon the edicts of Parliaments as not to be questioned in any court of justice—the function of the judicial authority being limited to the more pedestrian task of finding facts and interpreting laws and customs of the realm. Indeed to speak of Freedom under the Law is apt to conceal a vital problem ; it is Parliament that enforces or negates freedom, not the judicial organ, which can only act within the limits that the supreme authority prescribes : a court may be entirely conscientious yet the law which it is compelled to enforce may be atrocious, and there is no remedy.

The realization of the privileges which we enjoy " in comparison with other European peoples," again to quote the Hamlyn Trust, has no doubt suggested to the Lord Justice the comparison which he draws between English and French procedure. He points out, how, for the most part, since 1941 the French have almost abandoned the

jury system as we know it after a hundred years' trial. In a criminal cause in the *Cours d' Assize* three judges and seven jurors sit together on the bench. They decide the guilt and sentence by a majority, but, as the lecturer points out, contrary to prevailing opinion in England, by the Declaration of the Rights of Man, as here, every man is presumed to be innocent unless he is proved guilty. Only the method of proof is different. The whole life of an accused, previous convictions and reports of superiors may be given to the presiding judge having been ascertained by an examining magistrate previously—matters here carefully excluded. Witnesses may make statements which we should consider irrelevant ; there is no searching cross-examination. Yet to say that our highly artificial rules about evidence necessarily produce greater justice seems to me to be a large assumption; indeed, in a lecture on " Justice between Man and State," Lord Justice Denning admits that our present rules of evidence in the courts "have sometimes been considered too exacting in that they require the best available evidence to be produced and exclude all hearsay."

Having discussed personal rights, the Lord Justice in his later lectures speaks of freedoms of property and contract. He shows how, on the whole, the Victorian judges protected these "with as much vigour as they protected a man's personal freedom or his freedom of speech." " In this," he comments, " they were wrong." Duties were apt to be forgotten in the protection of rights. " Fraud apart, there is no law against letting a tumble-down house," it was judicially declared in 1863, but surely, in the absence of legislation, the judge was right —it was Parliament and not the judges who laid an insufficient stress upon social obligations. But the trouble is that once a principle of law is established, later judges are more or less bound. Thus Liversidge's case, perhaps necessary in time of war, would be equally applicable to interpret a similar peacetime regulation to deprive a suspect of his liberty ; the House of Lords, even more than inferior tribunals, is bound by its own decisions.

So also in contract, the assumption was made in common law that all were equally free to bargain as they would ; indeed any restraint on their liberty to do so, by combination or agreement, was looked upon in the industrial era with grave disfavour. How different from the medieval conception that all bargaining should be restrained by a moral conception of a " just price "! It may be argued that we are returning to-day in some respects to the earlier criterion. This at any rate would appear to be the view of the Lord Justice : " The property owner must (now) keep his houses fit for human habitation. The landlord must only charge a reasonable rent. And so forth. Statute after statute now puts on men the positive duty of doing good to their neighbours and to the community at large. The farmer must farm his lands in accordance with good husbandry, the school

proprietor must provide proper instruction, the doctor and the dentist must provide efficient service."

Now all this, as I have suggested is not really a question of law at all ; it is one of special provision. The Hamlyn Trust is concerned only with the " growth of jurisprudence," adding to the burden of the exponent the insidious obligation to show the common people of England what they enjoy in law and custom in comparison with less favoured realms. The growth of social provision may conceivably occur under conditions which offend English notions of justice ; attempts were made to achieve a tyrannical " welfare State " in Germany, perhaps are now being attempted in Russia ; while in France, where the old personal rights accorded by Roman law still obtain, the social provision is negligible ; too often have the subjects of social amenity and juridical right been confused.

One of the almost inevitable consequences of increased State activity is the growth of administrative tribunals—a matter which has engaged the attention of the late Lord Hewart, Professor Allen and many others. These bodies, often appointed by a Minister have to perform quasi-judicial functions. In France such bodies, specially administering law between citizen and State, have existed for more than a hundred years ; there, curiously enough, the administrative courts have developed on a system of case law and not been restricted to the code as are the civil ones ; the converse of our system, and the lecturer is of opinion that the French administrative law adequately protects the individual. Here the appeal is often direct to a Minister or his officials and not to the courts ; indeed one Minister declared the court's power to be " judicial sabotage " of his plans ! In the tribunals there are no rules of evidence such as are enforced in courts of law. Sometimes advocates are excluded, and sometimes tribunals have acted on the opinion of one party. Where the High Court had jurisdiction they have corrected these and many other errors, but in very many cases there are, for one reason or another, no appeals, and in others no opportunity for appeal to the court, as has been said, is in any case afforded. There are instances where appeal is by statute expressly forbidden. There again, the reasons of tribunals, as a rule, need not be given. Those sitting need not be trained in legal processes and there is no obligation to follow or study earlier decisions. Indeed, in many cases a cynic might say that our system is not very far removed from that of the Russians, where the members of the tribunals (called people's courts) are in fact nominated and removed by the Party. A useful address on this whole subject was given by Lord Greene in his Haldane lecture some years ago.

Arising out of this supersession of the courts, " the increasing powers of the executive " as the lecturer calls them, have consideration in his last address. These executive powers, unlike those before

tribunals, cannot necessarily be ascertained or vindicated in tribunals or courts of law, for " the government department which requisitions my house or compulsorily acquires my land does not exercise a judicial function." Dealing with ministerial powers of entry or search Lord Justice Denning points out how these were formerly very severely circumscribed. But to-day there are " new powers of entry and search. Enforcement officers of the Minister of Food may enter shop premises, inspect all goods and so forth ; so also factory inspectors, sanitary inspectors and town planning officers may enter all kinds of premises for their various purposes." He adds the powers of the Minister of Supply and those of the Agricultural Executive Committee and there are many others. This, says the Lord Justice, " is a complete departure from the principles hitherto in force in England." These officers need not go to a magistrate to satisfy him that a search should be allowed, nor need they have reasonable cause to believe that an offence has been committed ; all they need is an authority from a government official. Contrary to the assumption of the Hamlyn bequest, and Professor Dicey, the French " *détournement de pouvoir* " misuse of power, gives to the administrative courts an authority our system often does not provide or has lost by legislation. " Any hope of developing any duty of diligence comparable with that imposed by French administrative law has received a check by a recent decision of the House of Lords "—Lord Atkin (who will one day be recognized as one of the greatest of libertarian judges) again dissenting. Here a farmer's lands had been flooded because a catchment board which had power to mend banks had delayed to do so—the House held that if they had done nothing they would not have been liable, and why should the board be liable because they took a long time over the work ? The Lord Justice thinks that in present conditions of civic activity new powers should be given to the courts to protect the subject against misuse of governmental activity, and as a person who for many years sat in the place which the learned judge adorns, and had to wrestle with this very problem, since my time become increasingly acute, I agree with him.

(*The Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Slesser was a Lord Justice of Appeal from* 1929 *to* 1940)

THE POLITICS OF MIDDLE AGE

By R. D. Charques

NO doubt the arteries of the mind begin to harden in different people at different ages. It is a question, presumably, of psychological types. Where political views and attitudes are concerned, however, it seems probable that the hardening begins rather earlier than most of us think. Who originally protested that not to be a socialist at 20 was to have no heart and to continue to be a socialist at 25 was to have no head ? That extravagant saying crystallizes a familiar process in the individual psychology of politics. Though youth is ardent, altruistic, eager for change, it is never too soon to acquire a stake in a competitive society; with their elders and betters in possession the younger generation must always be knocking at the door of the established order. Politics are, in a sense, the struggle of the generations as much as of the classes.

In that struggle, as it is conducted in the present age of the transformation of capitalist society, one of the more transparent virtues of representative government is that it facilitates the education of the younger generation in the art of the possible. Political democracy, after all, is an empirical system, and as such helps to correct the theoretical bias of youth. It is also, even in its revolutionary phases, a conservative system. Macaulay's celebrated words, in the first chapter of his *History of England*—" no other society has yet succeeded in uniting revolution with prescription, progress with stability, the energy of youth with the majesty of immemorial antiquity "—project not the Whig view of English history only but also a basic worldly truth in politics. It is this : admit youth to power and responsibility and its zeal for experiment and innovation tends to be eroded by the lessons of experience. For with experience comes, as a rule, a fuller realization of the limitations of institutional change, a more pervasive and chastening sense of the obduracy of " the human factor." Nor is that all : there is a material equation also with the lessons of experience. In terms of what the world offers, it is clearly better to arrive than to travel hopefully, and, having arrived, having assumed " commitments " and given hostages to fortune, one's personal instinct is to seek stability.

Setting aside therefore the inevitable pressure of class interest, which helps to maintain instability in society—and some degree of instability is surely necessary for the health and vigour of society—

there are both psychological and material reasons for the abandonment with the years of advanced political opinions. These reasons, needless to say, are not universally operative. Not all persons who have reached the middle years of life, for instance, are inclined to hold moderate political views, or have even tended to move to the right of their views in youth. Whatever self-interest on the one hand or reason on the other may urge, a man's politics are in a peculiar sense an expression of temperament, and as such may perhaps be fairly considered a genetic inheritance. Temperamentally there are egalitarians and anarchists, just as there are conservatives and authoritarians. Each type may remain fixed in his outlook, or—in the manner of the exaggeratedly professional politician—may become more extreme with the passage of years. But there is, after all, a great weight of everyday evidence to confirm the general rule that people are apt to shed extreme political ideas as they grow older, and that the change begins to take effect at a comparatively early age.

This progressive (or retrogressive) tendency has been specially marked during the past half-century among the run of politicians and the more consciously political-minded generally in those countries of western Europe which have a reasonably established democratic tradition. Again and again we have witnessed in those countries the spectacle of the " apostasy " of the successful left-wing politician. The defection at the age of 30 of the socialist Millerand to a *bourgeois* French government in 1889 came as a shock to a movement essentially oppositionist, but the later history of Cabinet-making in the Third Republic is strewn with the wreckage of ex-socialist reputations. As things have turned out, the very term " socialist " on the European continent has long ceased, in fact, to denote any form of extremism. Even in this country, where there have been few notable cases of graduation from Socialism to what might be labelled anti-Socialism (is Sir Oswald Mosley a notable case ?), the years have told upon the younger generation of ex-communists, among whom some of the ablest are now pillars of Labour respectability. The pull of age and experience has undoubtedly been to the right (may not the moderate to right-wing character of most western governments to-day be attributed in part to the pronounced numerical superiority of the higher age-groups, a superiority intensified in the case of Germany and Italy by the casualties among the younger generation in the recent war ?)—just as, on the other side, the granting of the vote at 18 in the " people's democracies " of eastern Europe represents the determination of the left to capitalize youth and inexperience.

The question arises whether this familiar middle-aged gravitation towards a " middle " political standpoint, which is as pronounced, I suggest, in socialist Britain as in, say, free-enterprise Belgium, presents any distinctive features at the present day—whether, above all, it is

more firmly grounded than usual in reason. One generalizes, it need scarcely be said, from a narrow field of observation, often from one's own personal experience only. And any generalization on this score must take into account the simple psychological truth that selfishness and cynicism, to which the old are more prone than the young, are apt to masquerade as reason—in this instance a specifically *bourgeois* variety of reason. But it does nevertheless seem to me that the conspicuously moderate political opinion that is so characteristic to-day of large numbers of persons in middle life in this country expresses a fundamentally rational anxiety and even a fundamentally rational idealism. It is not, I would maintain, a mere " rationalization " of cowardice or timidity. Perhaps it would be as well to be quite explicit : party politics, I think, scarcely come into it—that, indeed, is the middle-aged citizen's dilemma to-day and the real electioneering enigma of the party managers and forecasters. For such moderate opinion is not necessarily anti-Labour. It makes no bones, as a rule, about acknowledging the necessity of most of the large measures of socialization in this country since 1945, and as often as not it expresses deep distrust of the purely negative aspect of the conservative programme. Yet at the same time it cannot escape the reasoned conviction that society is being killed by kindness—that the rush, the unavoidably precipitate rush, of the pendulum leftwards may, if continued, bring the entire works to a standstill.

Political memories are notoriously short, but the pendulum has indeed swung hard and far to the left during the past 30 years. A normally intelligent man of fifty, having survived two world wars, knows to-day that he is living through a still unresolved revolution, a revolution marking the rule of the masses. He knows that that revolution cannot be put down. By now he is all but resigned to its exactions and disabilities, recognizing that it has social justice—social necessity, if you like—on its side. But a revolution must continue to evolve specific forms and instruments, must continue to develop a technique and tempo of institutional change ; and it is here that those no longer young feel they have reason to apprehend the totalitarian Nemesis that lies in wait, it seems, for all schemes of human perfectibility. For the revolution is being carried forward all too blindly by its own momentum, the momentum of numbers, of the mass. How, while conceding the argument for a new social order, to control the explosive force of a continuously expanding revolution, how to bring the salutary scepticism of experience to bear upon the profuse utopianism of the welfare State, how to temper the bureaucratic and managerial bias of society with some sort of spiritual purpose—these, it seems, are the common political preoccupations of so many middle-aged people in this country to-day.

BROADCASTING FOR SCHOOLS

By Richmond Postgate

SCHOOL broadcasting, I heard myself say in a lecture, is entering a maturer phase, it is growing up. Afterwards I wondered what this metaphorical statement meant ; indeed whether it meant anything at all, or was just one of those phrases one uses to clothe statistics of increase with a garb of humanity.

In a human being, growing up implies an increase in size and weight; but more significantly, the discovery and exercise of adult responsibilities. In size, school broadcasting has unquestionably grown as a few statistics will show. It has grown whether one measures growth in terms of the air-time devoted to the service, in the number of the audience listening, or of the staff engaged. The first transmissions took place in 1924 and occupied an hour a week. By the autumn of 1928 the figure was 400 minutes a week, by 1939 600, and at the present time 1,045 minutes. Of this last figure, 780 minutes go to all schools of the United Kingdom, 115 to schools in Scotland only, and 150 to Welsh schools only. Thus the service is very much larger, and serves both general and particular audiences.

In terms of the listening schools, the growth has been equally sustained. In 1928 there were 2,239 schools, in 1939 11,170 ; the latest available figure is 18,596 out of a possible total of around 35,000. In July of last year, it was estimated that the percentages for the various countries were—England 50, Scotland 48, Wales 44 and Northern Ireland 16. This proportion, which actually never stopped growing during the war despite the difficulties of getting receivers, may very likely increase again sharply now that supplies are easier.*

Perhaps even more startling is the increase of staff. In 1928, four years after the start, the full-time staff of the School Broadcasting Department was six. In 1950 it is over 80 ; but to this figure one has to add the staff concerned with the assessment of the broadcasts, their promotion and all the inquiry which precedes the adoption of educational policy. The total figure is 141 ; and this excludes all the writers, consultants, artists engaged *ad hoc*, and the share of the B.B.C. technical and administrative services.

* These figures are reliable only to show a trend. They are compiled from the number of schools which, by registering with the office their intention to listen, are supplied with explanatory literature. There is no predictable relationship between this intention and actual listening.

School broadcasting has unquestionably grown ; but has it grown up ? On reflection, the term seems to hold three elements. First of all, function. A new limb of the public service has to find its proper place ; to see what it can do well, what it can do tolerably but not better than other means already established, and what it should not attempt at all. A second is that it should be allowed to use these potentialities as they are discovered. A public service, be it of broadcasting or transport or anything else, however excellent it may be, is not a service unless it is used. Its existence has to be made known to those for whom it is planned, and they have to accept it and use it. Thirdly, though this is maybe only an extension of the last point, the contribution which the users need to make has to be made clear and obtained from them. This may seem a strange notion ; but—as it seems to me—many branches of the public service, for their proper functioning, do require positive contributions from the public. Schools, for instance, are fully used only when the parents collaborate, even if not very consciously, with the teachers (or would it be true to say that teachers can only teach effectively if they are in harmony with the educational aims of the parents?). A library service does not consist only of making books available to the public ; it requires the borrowers to borrow them and use them, and in some way to guide and support the service. The influence of public esteem on a public service was particularly shown during the war in (for example) the R.A.F. It was surely clear that the quality of that service did not depend only on the quality of its members, but also on the immense sustaining tide of public appreciation. I believe this to be equally, if not so dramatically, true of public service in peacetime. Because the public thinks that the Tubes are the best in the world, the men who operate them are led to try and make them so ; in return, the public acclaims them, notes approvingly the style of the stations and the posters, keeps to the right on the escalators, tells its friends that the longest tunnel in the world is between East Finchley and Morden, and foots the bill without too much complaint.

In school broadcasting, so far as function is concerned, its discovery has been a gradual evolving process, which has proceeded alongside the gradual and piecemeal, though considerable, changes in educational theory and practice of schools as a whole. The extent of this change can be conveniently illustrated by comparing what was offered in 1928 with 1949. As the number of minutes of School Broadcasting in 1928 was 400 a week, and in 1949 1,045, it is natural that rather more subjects are offered in 1949. However, the staple subjects are much the same in both years—Music, History, Poetry and Literature, Geography and Travel, Nature Study and Elementary Science, Modern Languages, high level talks for sixth-formers, and so forth. The extensions in 1949 came about principally by providing several

series in one subject at differing levels of attainment, where previously one only had been offered, and series of local interest, for example the separate provision for Scottish and Welsh interests. In terms of subject matter 1949 shows practically no extension over 1928 ; indeed, in one respect it marks a contraction. Passages of classical Latin were broadcast in 1928, and are now no longer.

The significant changes are in the changed educational aims of the broadcasts, and in their relationship to the teachers and children. Here the two programmes are very revealing. In 1928 the prospectus speaks of the " wireless lessons " given by "wireless lecturers" or " wireless teachers ". " The wireless teacher," it says, " counts on children and teachers alike entering into the spirit of the lesson, and the class instructor will find great benefit results from close collaboration with his wireless colleague." How clearly these phrases reveal the pedagogic attitude then prevailing ; one can almost see the classes, far more rigid and formal than to-day. On this side, the teacher, expounding, dictating, correcting a disciplined flock ; on the other the children, kept in their desks (" pens up, pens down "), being talked at and admonished. And the radio, the wireless teacher, another adult voice expounding and explaining, no doubt with greater authority and scholarship, but unquestionably didactic. In its earliest days the radio is an electrical device enabling massive audiences to be lectured simultaneously. Of one lecturer, the 1928 publication commends the syllabus in these words : " She has had great success with lantern lectures to juveniles, and it is hoped that, with the aid of illustrations, the broadcast talks " (which were about pictures) " will be equally appreciated."

In the 1949 publication, " instruction " and " lecturing " have disappeared. Of a series dealing with World History for ten-year-olds, we read: " The broadcasts are in no sense formal history lessons, although they have an historical basis." Their primary aim is to tell " good stories which the children will enjoy." Another series for children of ten, Junior English, is concerned with " ' the tale that holdeth children from play '." Senior English (11-14) is intended to help children " to greater enjoyment of literature." This swing-over from instruction to enjoyable experience is perhaps most clearly emphasized in an experimental series consisting of " self-contained passages of English prose and verse read without explanation or comment in the belief that good literature well spoken can safely be left to make its own impression."

More telling, perhaps, is the fact that, whereas in 1928 the first experimental dramatized programmes were being produced, in 1949 three-quarters or more of the entire output was wholly or partly dramatized. This change reflects, of course, the realization which came over the radio world after 1928 that drama is very suited to

sound radio, but in the case of school broadcasting, the development has been accelerated or reinforced by the growing tendency of teachers to study the interests and inclinations of children and capitalize these enthusiasms for educational ends.* A lecturer tends to talk *about* some event, and his account to follow the systematization which has taken place in his head, issuing normally in a logical and intellectual composition. A play, by contrast, is a representation of the event itself ; it is not about the event, it *is* the event, and its presentation highlights the emotional, personal and individual aspects rather than their position in a train of argument or events. The release of the schools from the didacticism of earlier days has provided the background for the flowering of radio drama.

Modern language broadcasting provides an interesting example, though of a different kind. In 1927 a full-scale international conference on education devoted an afternoon to the effects of radio on teaching and recorded its view that help to modern language teaching was likely to be one of its chief instructional uses. Accordingly, the 1928 programme offered a two year elementary course in French, designed to give " special instruction in the matter of pronunciation, vocabulary, use of words and idioms, grammar and syntax, with particular reference to the errors Englishmen tend to make." In 1949 there is no elementary course, and no reference to grammar, idioms or besetting errors. Two programmes are offered, one for students in their third year, one for those at sixth form level, and they both aim to present France directly through French—French culture, life, news, literature, music and fun through programmes written largely by Frenchmen and acted by them. There is no elementary instruction because it is felt that radio cannot make a useful teaching contribution at this stage. The programmes to-day do not, in fact, teach ; they present France through its language. In other words, the function of the radio in relation to French teaching has been reviewed, identified and defined.

Now as to the users. In the earliest stages there was a good deal of scepticism and some opposition, and to win its place the B.B.C. adopted such blandishments as competitions and prizes. This period ended after the publication of the Kent report, an independent investigation into the potentialities of school broadcasting carried out in Kent, with the aid of a Carnegie grant ; after this it was generally accepted that school broadcasting was not a passing educational fad. Public confidence was reinforced by the establishment in 1929 of a school broadcasting council widely representative of the educational

* See, for example, the mild but revolutionary remark slipped in to a recent Ministry pamphlet (" Seven to Eleven ", p. 20) : " *There was a time* (my italics) when teaching young children to read and write was considered one of the most important parts of primary education. Through beginning too soon and spending too much time on teaching these skills, teachers often lost the children's natural nterest in speaking and writing words."

world which was charged to guide the B.B.C. on the educational policy of the broadcasts, stand sponsor for them to the educational world, and foster their development and use. The B.B.C. financed this council and seconded a small staff to work for it. About this time the Ministry of Education defined its attitude to the broadcasts as one of benevolent neutrality. The council had a difficult task. From very slender resources it had to persuade the local education authorities to equip their schools with radio sets and the training colleges to incorporate into their syllabuses training in the use of school broadcasts. It had to persuade practising teachers to take broadcasting as a contribution to education which deserved attention and criticism. For its own purposes and for the B.B.C. staff, it had a service of information about the habits and needs of schools, and of constructive criticism of the broadcasts themselves. Moreover, all this had to be done without much support from the inspectorate, and in a way which would provoke neither a sales resistance in the educational world nor an undue sensitiveness among the broadcasting officials. It is not surprising that despite the substantial increases in the number of schools listening, about half the schools in the United Kingdom are still without sets, and of those which have them only about a quarter give satisfactory reception. Extremely few authorities have any system of maintenance and only a small proportion of students in training have an opportunity of learning how to use the broadcasts.

However, in the characteristic ambling fashion of British institutions, progress has been made and recently the Ministry abandoned its neutrality and began to support the service whole-heartedly. This change was published in a recent pamphlet on citizenship, which contains the following passage :

> Fortunately, broadcasting in this country has been developed with a sense of social and artistic responsibility and with a regard for educational as well as recreational service. Undoubtedly, the British Broadcasting Corporation has made a big contribution to the recent growth of interest in good music, good plays and intelligent talk and to that extent has helped, directly a little, indirectly a very great deal, to raise the standards of taste and so, perhaps, of behaviour in the face of innumerable influences to the contrary. The B.B.C. provides a forum for the candid discussion of serious and fundamental problems of religion and politics, art and personal conduct. It gives a platform to public men and women of the day—a very exacting platform, quite different from the public hall, and one where the slightest hint of insincerity is magnified to a shout; to that extent broadcasting has probably helped to raise the tone and quality of political oratory, in the teeth of other influences that might have encouraged its decay. Last of all, the B.B.C., under the guidance of the School Broadcasting Council, has developed a service of " wireless " lessons, or, more properly, " School Broadcasts ", having a variety, a freshness of presentation, an authority and reliability, an originality of purpose and method that raises them from the level of a teaching accessory to that of a new educational method.

Apart from this extremely whole-hearted commendation, for one engaged in school broadcasting it is particularly pleasing to see school

broadcasting regarded as one among many of educational services provided by the B.B.C. ; so also, in a minor way, to see the official burial of the term " wireless " lessons. But, of course, the real importance is that the pamphlet marks officially the acceptance of the claims of the service to be something very worth while. I imagine this may prove to be as important a step as was the publication of the Kent report twenty years earlier.

The reaction of the general public is so uniformly favourable that one is tempted to imagine that by some magic potion in the early days it was persuaded of the value of the broadcasts and has never seen fit to change its mind ; or that praise for one of the B.B.C. services is a useful foil for blaming another. Be that as it may, it has been solid and continuous support, becoming vociferous on one occasion—when school broadcasting was cut out during the 1947 great frost. It was then made clear beyond all possible doubt that the public at large considered that the school broadcasting service was valuable enough to be maintained in a serious emergency and was doing something of which it heartily approved.

To some extent the response from the public is of concern only to the professionals—teachers and broadcasters. For example, precisely what material ought a broadcast to contain ? What assumptions about the children's knowledge should be made ? Is it reasonable to assume that teachers will prepare for the broadcasts and follow them up ? If they do not do so at present, will the publication of suggestions and summaries lead them to develop this habit ? Questions of this kind are, evidently, answerable only after a good deal of inquiry.* Like so many advances to-day, these inquiries are detailed and specialist and require heavy documentation.

Of more general and topical interest is the part in the control of the broadcasts which the users play. Here there is a very special and essentially twentieth century problem. Its nature can be stated very shortly. First : the B.B.C. is a public monopoly and a very large organization; second : children are forced by law to attend school, and may be forced by their teachers to hear the broadcasts ; third : the proper social control of its educational system is vital to the life of a democratic state, and fourth : a broadcast is an artistic creation,

*An instance is a recent inquiry into whether a broadcast series could usefully be made to assist the study of religious knowledge in sixth forms. The sources of evidence in England and Wales included (*a*) reports on broadcasts from teachers (about 12 each week) ; (*b*) compilation of statistical and other information from all Secondary Grammar schools in two successive years ; (*c*) visits by officials to selected schools ; (*d*) discussions with representatives of bodies with special experience, e.g. Ministry of Education, Institute of Christian Education, S.C.M. ; (*e*) discussion with Sixth Form boys and girls in class and at special conferences ; (*f*) five separate conferences with teachers in different areas, and a final conference with religious specialists. All this material was boiled down into a report for the School Broadcasting Council and presented together with a scheme illustrating how the conclusions of the report could be met through broadcasts.

and must have the conditions favourable to such creation. The first steps to meet the situation which these facts created were taken very early. It is worth stating here that the school broadcasting council formed in 1929 is a mandatory not an advisory body. The B.B.C. may not make any broadcast to schools unless the council has requested it to do so, and the B.B.C. is bound to obtain its approval to what it broadcasts. This step, sound and far-seeing though it was, is only the first step, and a crude interpretation of relative powers might very easily result in acute deadlocks, the broadcasting council, through lack of knowledge of the limitations of broadcasting setting impossible or unsuitable tasks to the broadcasting body, and the broadcasting body either denying its own birthright by misusing the broadcast medium, or attempting to railroad its own schemes through by hoodwinking or overlaying the council ; the final result offering less what the schools needed and less artistic than a system of patronage could have achieved. The second step was to establish inside the B.B.C. a separate production department to specialize in broadcasts to schools. Most B.B.C. production departments follow the type of broadcast they produce—talks, features, drama and so on. The School Broadcasting Department is staffed to deal with all types of broadcast, and its members are largely ex-teachers. The third was to equip the council with its own specialists, notably experienced ex-teachers who as education officers are in close contact with the schools and the children and report the needs and reactions. The department is in direct and close contact with the council staff and is to a great extent independent of the main programme organization of the Corporation. The simplicity and closeness of this relationship is of very great advantage.

The other steps taken in the last twenty years are largely refinements of these two major decisions, but it is instructive that if they had not occurred the machine would not work and that each is the result of a very great deal of argument and reflection. However brilliant its founders, it seems that no administrative organization can hope to be more than generally on the right lines when it starts, and that its development into a really efficient concern can only be slow and arduous. The administrative Eden is at least as much a matter of rolling and mowing as of landscape gardening.

Under the present arrangements, the school broadcasting council is charged to formulate the general educational policy and determine the general aim and scope of the various broadcast series. Its inquiries, in which the programme staff participate, lead to longish reports pointing out needs as the schools and the council's officers see them. Alongside these reports go plans from the broadcasting side of how they could implement these needs in broadcasts if they were called upon to do so. If for some reason, the broadcasting side

think the needs cannot be met by broadcasts at all, this can be stated. Both documents are presented to programme committees of the council. These committees, which consist not only of representatives of major educational interests but also of co-opted practising teachers and others, have to decide what is the best way of helping the schools. Their decision is set down in a directive to the B.B.C. setting out for each series the general educational intention, the intended audience, the field of subject matter and so forth. It does not go into detail either of content or treatment. But it will be noticed that before adopting a directive the committees have had the chance of satisfying themselves that the series is really needed, that the broadcasting side think that it is a practicable proposition from a broadcasting standpoint, and that they themselves think the broadcasts would prove to be such that they could honestly recommend them to the educational world.

At this stage the initiative passes to the B.B.C. who prepare detailed plans to meet the directive and present them to the committees. Formally, the committees are confined at this stage to the question whether the proposals conform to the directive or not ; they are not empowered either to alter the commission or make alternative proposals themselves. In practice, however, the broadcasting side being anxious to obtain a whole-hearted as well as a formal approval, endeavour to take suggestions and do as much re-casting as is practicable ; but they know that in the background the formal limitation to the council's powers will enable a halt to be called if necessary.

This system results from giving each partner to the enterprise a clearly defined function while associating them closely in their everyday work. It requires a high degree of collaborativeness and understanding, but it also provides opportunities for the constant personal contact which fosters them. It is also deliberate. The period of inquiry is long ; the policy decision to have a particular series, and to approve a directive for it, is separated by some months from the decision to approve the titles of the broadcasts of which it is to be composed and, owing to the schools' demand for advance notice, this decision is several months away from the actual transmission. To elongate the natural process of thinking, writing and producing a broadcast in this way is irritating to the programme staff and perhaps damaging to the broadcasts ; on the other hand, a large area of very real freedom for inventiveness and new ideas is preserved and there is great satisfaction in knowing that one's work is fulfilling an unquestioned need in the schools.

(*The author is the B.B.C.'s Head of School Broadcasting.*)

ASPECTS OF MEDIEVAL UNITY

By H. S. Deighton

AS it is generally employed, the term ' Middle Ages ' has much in common with that other ill-defined expression—Middle East. The two terms are applied with an almost equal looseness to great areas, the one of time and the other of space. Each has many facets and offers a field of study too vast, perhaps, for adequate comprehension by any one mind, and, in consequence, the adjective of each is commonly used with reference to the particular facet which most concerns the user. Both, too, share, for good reasons, a great and perhaps a growing interest for the contemporary westerner—an interest which is reflected by their very name, for we call them " middle " in relation to our own part of the world, our own civilization and our own time.

An exact definition of the Middle Ages need not be attempted. It was the millennium that elapsed between the passing of the Graeco-Roman world and the emergence of that civilization which had its origin in western Europe. Politically, it covered the period from the end of the Roman order to the beginning of the modern society of the sovereign nation-State. The historian of the intellect might conveniently date it between 529 A.D., when Justinian closed the Academy at Athens, and St. Benedict founded the monastery at Monte Cassino, to the death of Dante in 1321, or, equally, allow it a further two hundred years.

Throughout this period, long as it was, the civilized peoples of the west retained an astonishing degree of cultural and indeed in the wider sense in which these words are used to-day, of social and political unity. This unity was almost entirely drawn from the Latin Christianity which they had in common. Sir Henry Slesser,* a layman so far as historical studies are concerned, is evidently drawn to the period by his feeling for the historic religious forms of the western world and by the attraction of that greater unity of civilized men, for which the Middle Ages was able to provide a suitable milieu, and of which the national sovereign State has shown itself to be so effective a destroyer. He starts his survey with the reign of the emperor Theodosius I, at the end of the fourth century—but he might well have considered adding the inside of a century to his long

* *The Middle Ages in the West*, by Sir Henry Slesser. Hutchinson. 21s.

story and opening it with the reign of the emperor Constantine who, by unifying the empire and accepting Christianity, was responsible for one of the most important changes in human history, who accepted the guidance (as he sought to modify the vehemence) of Catholic advisers in a Church already full of heresies and who, by setting up a new capital in his name city Constantinople (which even to-day is ' Rome ' in the popular speech of the Levant), brought into being that twofold division of Christendom into east and west, Greek and Latin, Orthodox and Catholic, which made possible the rise of the characteristic civilization of western Europe.

The issue of a translation of Jacob Burckhardt's earliest great work,* nearly a century after its first appearance in 1852, is further testimony to the extent of contemporary interests in those periods of the past in which there were problems and situations seemingly similar to those of to-day. So far as the age of Constantine is concerned, the analogy is, in the opinion of Burckhardt's translator, " inescapable ". Others, like Sir Henry Slesser, are drawn to the past in a search for something of present (or indeed of eternal) value which they believe may have been lost. For such there are many dangers—for, since it remains true that much of the best English historical writing has been the work of non-professionals—there is also a sense in which the study of history requires a professional quantity of understanding and technique, even if this amounts to no more than the essential recognition of the limitations of the subject. Dr. Ullmann† is a professional academic historian and he has something to say which is very well worth saying. His subject, the medieval canonists, is almost as obscure and as much neglected, as it is important.

It must be said that Burckhardt's picture of the age of Constantine, differs substantially, both in interpretation and in emphasis, from those which contemporary scholars are drawing. There has been no significant addition to the material available to historians since he wrote—but there has been a steady development in technique and, it would not be unfair to say, that the most striking difference between this work and that of contemporary historians, such as Professor A. H. M. Jones (*Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*, 1948) and of Mr. H. St. L. D. Moss (*The Birth of the Middle Ages*, 1935) lies in the greater humility of the twentieth century scholars' judgments. On the central theme of Constantine's relations with Christianity, Burckhardt has much of the assurance of the sceptical continental *bourgeois* of his time—and perhaps some of the dogmatic arrogance of youth, which, as readers of his recently published lectures on history will remember, he was to shed entirely as the result of a life

* *The Age of Constantine the Great*, by Jacob Burckhardt. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 18s.
† *Medieval Papalism*, by Walter Ullmann. Methuen. 18s.

spent in studying history, " not ", as he wrote, " to be clever for another time, but to be wise for always."

For Burckhardt, at this stage of his career, it was evidently easier to equip his characters with the material circumstances of their time than to make the imaginative effort necessary to provide them with a set of values all their own. His scholarship, wide and deep in other respects, shows itself in this book to be deficient in the more subtle realm of spiritual values. He shows little feeling for what is sometimes called the " climate of opinion "; in fact, here, although not perhaps in his later work on the Renaissance, he shows himself to be lacking in historical sense. Thus for all its greatness, this magnificent piece of literary architecture has an appearance of unreality, because, although they are surrounded and dressed with all the apparatus appropriate to their age, its characters behave like puppets on strings attached to the author—they are men of the nineteenth century acting in an elaborately constructed setting of the fourth.

The consequences of this weakness are to be seen extending behind the portraiture of the figures of the age to the assessment of the sources for its history. For one of his principal sources, the Christian historian, Eusebius of Caesarea, Burckhardt has an expressed contempt which his translator has felt obliged to try to mitigate. Eusebius is " the most objectionable of all eulogists " who is " fully capable of ignoring and concealing a fact " and has " utterly falsified " Constantine's likeness, by dressing him in an " odious hypocrisy ". For Burckhardt, Constantine was a great man—rather as Carlyle might have used the expression. "Attempts have often been made to penetrate into the religious consciousness of Constantine and to construct a hypothetical picture of changes in his religious convictions. Such efforts are futile. In a genius driven without surcease by ambition and lust for power there can be no question of Christianity and paganism, of conscious religiosity or irreligiosity ; such a man is essentially irreligious, even if he pictures himself in the midst of a church community. Holiness he understands only as a reminiscence or as a superstitious vagary. Moments of inward reflection, which for a religious man are in the nature of worship, he consumes in a different sort of fire. World-embracing plans and mighty dreams lead him by an easy road to the streams of blood of slaughtered armies. He thinks that he will be at peace when he has achieved this or the other goal, whatever it may be that is wanting to make his possessions complete." A modern authority, Professor Jones, offers a more cautious comment and shows an awareness of the mutability of many human values: "The debate still goes on whether his conversion was a matter of policy or of religious conviction, and in the latter alternative what brought about his change of heart, and finally whether he became a full Christian or whether he passed

through a stage when he regarded Christianity as one of many forms in which the Supreme Power could be worshipped. On the first question no historian who understands the mood of the age in which Constantine lived can entertain any serious doubts. To be a rationalist in that age Constantine would have been an intellectual prodigy, and he was, in fact, as far as we can discern him, a simple-minded man." In this view he had been influenced by his experience up to and at the decisive battle of Mulvian Bridge. "He believed that the Highest Divinity, whom the Christian Church worshipped, had given him victory and dominion ; he hoped by doing His will to win by His favour further prosperity for himself and his subjects, and he feared by offending Him to be cast down from power and to involve the empire in his ruin."

Yet Burckhardt was not so much hostile to Christianity as derisive of the claim that his hero had adopted it in sincerity. There is some shrewd comment on the consequences for the religion, of its official adoption. He aptly illustrates the mechanics of the Church's rise to power. " In one aspect in particular it is easy to perceive the means of power which the State had surrendered ; the whole huge apparatus of public benefits with its influence upon the masses now devolved upon the clergy, who established shelters for the poor, hostels, almshouses, orphanages, hospitals and other philanthropic foundations in many places, partly through gifts of the State, whereas the State came into contact with the individual only through its soldiers and its brutal tax collectors." He deplores the fact " that the Gospel was made into law for those who did not believe in it," and quotes his contemporary, Zahn, in a telling phrase : " Christianity grows alien to its essence when it is made into law for those born instead of for those re-born."

.Few books could equip their readers better than Dr. Ullmann's *Medieval Papalism* for judging the truth of this aphorism. The first principles of medieval political thinking were set out in the teaching of St. Augustine, which sought to solve the dilemma of sacred and human law on the analogy of the two cities—the *civitas Dei*, in which men would live in obedience to divine law, and consequently without the necessity for human government, and the *civitas terrena*, the earthly city, called into being by the need to meet the consequences of sin. Secular government fared badly in the five hundred years preceding the eleventh century, with consequences that have earned them the name ' Dark Ages ', central government tottered and, after Charlemagne, fell, taking with it the economic order. Europe was eventually saved from invaders by the feudalism which grew up upon the fragments into which she had broken. Order was slowly regained—turbulent knights and nobles settled down and underwent " the civilizing influence of ownership."

The shift in power which Burckhardt noticed had been steadily taking effect, and in the eleventh century the time was ripe for the assertion of the principles of the " papal monarchy " usually associated with the name of Hildebrand, who became Pope, as Gregory VII, in 1073.

From the time of Hildebrand's accession to that of the death of Boniface VIII in 1303, the western political scene may be said to have been dominated by the progressive assertion of the fulness of papal power and by the struggle which arose from the resistance of secular governments to what seemed its constant encroachments upon their rights. Most historians of this struggle depend for their account of its issues upon the writings of the publicists on either side. It is Dr. Ullmann's purpose to draw attention to the more fundamental work of the canonists who throughout the period from the eleventh to the fourteenth century were formulating the doctrines upon which papal claims were based. He quotes the late A. L. Smith : " The ideal of . . . the canonists was to make a working reality of the kingdom of God on earth" and goes on to show how this was to be achieved by means of the supreme power of the pope who, given good reason, *justa causa*, might even modify the natural law, itself identified with divine law—'*jus naturale, id est, jus divinum.*' " As soon," he writes, " as the principle of the immutability of the natural law was put to the test it became no more than a pious assertion." It is, perhaps, misleading to imply, as Dr. Ullmann seems to do, that all medieval popes always wanted to assert the most extreme claims made for their office by the most advanced canonist thinkers. But it is a service to have drawn attention to the great and living body of teaching—the ideology of papal action, as he aptly terms it—which lay behind the policies of the popes : from the ranks of whose formulators indeed some of the greatest popes were drawn—among them Innocent III and Boniface VIII.

In an edict, issued after he had reunited the empire, Constantine wrote : " God sought my service and judged that service fitting to achieve his purpose." He inaugurated an era in which the declared objective of political thinking was the discovery and implementation of the divine will. To-day, when such ideas have an increasing attraction for many, there can be nothing but good in a deepened study of that period, " not ", indeed, " to be clever for another time, but to be wise for always."

(*The author is a Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Lecturer in Classics and Modern History.*)

engendering it by very force of contrast, the portraits of his associates delicate as his own drawings, the avuncular talk and play with child friends, his own royal purple prose, are some of its charms, undimmed by the bitterness of controversy or the overwhelming urge to preach.

Before passing to the latest book about Ruskin, a tribute might be paid to a couple of most penetrating studies. The one is to be found in Holbrook Jackson's *Dreamers of Dreams*, published in 1948, where Ruskin's place is clearly defined in a gallery which also holds Carlyle, William Morris, Emerson, Thoreau and Walt Whitman. The other is *The Last Romantics** and its author, in conformity with his title, includes of these only Morris, choosing for Ruskin's other companions Rossetti, Pater, Whistler (with an account of the undignified quarrel between him and the now conventional Ruskin) and other *fin de siècle* figures, and W. B. Yeats. Graham Hough here firmly claims Ruskin as " the earliest (perhaps the only) English writer of first-rate intellectual power to devote himself mainly to the visual arts." As about 1850 the word ' artist ' which stood for " scientist, artisan, or specifically painter, acquires also a new meaning—that of imaginative creator in general," it is not without significance that there appeared in 1847 the first volume of *Modern Painters*. Its appeal was to the cultured public quite as much as to the painter; as Mr. Hough felicitously puts it, the work " gave the pleasures of the eye a metaphysical status." In this most unlooked for materialization of reveries in a Japanese prison camp, the relation of art to the moral life and the social order under Ruskin's exacting tutelage—" You must either make a tool of your workman or a man of him " is the author's summation—is carefully and brilliantly traced to its practical application in pre-Raphaelitism and the work of William Morris.

Here is one, but seventeen years younger, who called Ruskin his master, and whose aims at first were wholly complementary to his. It may be said, loosely, that the professional worker Morris believed all men should be craftsmen, the professional teacher Ruskin that they should be artists. More precisely, it must be stressed that both associated art with morality, politics and religion, and joy with work. Morris agreed on " the nature of Gothic " as expounded by Ruskin in *The Stones of Venice* but carried the " Gothic spirit " and its social implications in architecture and life much further. Not so much cathedrals as domestic amenities—furniture and furnishings —were Morris's ultimate concerns. His gifts as a painter, designer and practical craftsman far exceeded Ruskin's very great talent as a draughtsman. In poetry and prose respectively the balance seems to be slightly in Ruskin's favour. They both admired Rossetti's paintings

* *The Last Romantics*, by Graham Hough. Duckworth. 15s.

and were out of sympathy with Whistler's, but Ruskin's dictum, that never before had the upper classes had " so much sympathy with the lower, or charity for them," Morris would not allow. His Socialism was more forthright, more robust than Ruskin's attempts to combine Tory instincts with a passion to ennoble the whole of humanity.

Many writers have noticed that Morris remains an enigma. As Esther Meynell emphasized two years ago in her *Portrait of William Morris* : " There was something strange and unexplained about him." Both he and Ruskin came from wealthy homes and, try as they would by precept and example, and loyal as they were in individual contacts, they never seemed to succeed in the most difficult task of really loving mankind. Could it be that their middle-class, family-business backgrounds made a barrier, against the struggling, stuffy, steamy masses, more difficult to climb than aristocratic lineage might have been to leap ? And might it not be this stiff-jointedness that helps to explain the strangeness in both, a strangeness that arose out of their shocked comprehension of the barrier and a correspondingly desperate determination to surmount it ? Of course, the very ease with which Morris mastered whatever he fancied—whether the precise detail in his lovely painting *La Belle Iseult*, or *The Defence of Guenevere* as a first volume of poems, or the dyeing-vat, loom, and printing press, or his Utopian novel *News from Nowhere*—and that pshaw-anybody-can-do-it approach of his made him, however unwillingly, impatient of ordinary men. And Ruskin, who took infinite pains to achieve his dreams, suffered exactly the same limiting of sympathy ; in interests quite as wide, his vast theoretical grasp of technique entitled him, he felt, to the rôle of omnipotence. But there seems to have been some deeper reserve in both men not so glibly to be explained.

Perhaps the puzzle of Morris (and incidentally Ruskin's) will be solved by the promised republication soon of J. W. Mackail's 1899 two volumes, *The Life of William Morris*, with an introduction by Sir Sydney Cockerell to record memories of a close personal association with him. Meanwhile, there is Lloyd Eric Grey's recent study*, tailored to fit Burne-Jones's description of Morris as " a sort of Viking, set down in strange times," and written refreshingly, that is, readably. (The term is used ' advisedly ' as they say ; ' for *Defence* ' in the *Guenevere* title here sports an *s* instead of a *c*, indicating trans-Atlantic origin—and sometimes the immigration of biography in circumlocutory prose.) Morris's was a long and full life ; varied but singularly lacking in vagaries, it was a stout single thread on which he strung his jewels of many colours. As Mr. Grey briskly tells the story the accords and deviations in the aims of Morris and Ruskin are

* *William Morris*, by Lloyd Eric Grey. Cassell. 15s.

gratifyingly tracked. He recounts the enthusiasm that led Morris to make a Kelmscott edition of *The Nature of Gothic*, and quotes Morris's later declaration that Ruskin was no " practical socialist " and Bernard Shaw's* " of having heard Morris remark that Ruskin could write the most profound truths imaginable, and five minutes afterward forget about them."

This perverseness is not so much analysed as defended by Peter Quennell † in a rich, revealing and engrossing book surely the best full length portrait yet, whose only fault seems to be over-sensitiveness to Ruskin critics and admirers both. In being fair to the first, Mr. Quennell makes the second feel he is unfair to Ruskin. The admirer-critic is forearmed, but newcomers to his "prophet" could be vulnerable to Mr. Quennell's half sneers, for example, about certain plans and experiments in social reform. After this was written the President of the Ruskin Society most opportunely came to the rescue‡ with the creed of the Guild of St. George which he quotes in full. Started with a gift of £7,000 by Ruskin, Mr. Quennell says the Guild " aimed at nothing less than the reformation of the entire social system," but does not explain the spirit in which it was conceived. A grateful acknowledgement is also due to Mr. Whitehouse for details of the practical and still potent results of the Guild's activities.

Its creed made the common—and infinitely excusable—error of assuming that men will respond nobly to a noble call. It was so with Ruskin himself, and part of its second article was the touchstone of his life :

> . . . I will strive to love my neighbour as myself, and, even when I cannot, will act as if I did.

This seems to be inspired interpretation of Biblical injunction and certainly reveals Ruskin's knowledge of the struggle within himself and his need for a safeguard. Never did he remember it better than in his dealings with Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

" Rossetti was the planet round which we all revolved," said the ever generous Edward Burne-Jones of the pre-Raphaelite group. There was Swinburne, given to hero worship of the most extreme kind : " He threw flowers on you in THE FORTNIGHTLY " wrote Meredith to Gabriel in 1870. In turn, Ruskin had already written of Swinburne in a zeal of championship : " He is simply one of the mightiest scholars of the age in Europe." The story of this queer, raging, fluttering little genius with his perversions, his drinking and

---

* Mr. Shaw, the magnificent tail of the comet of nineteenth century crusaders, should of course be writing this article. In 1893 he was advising FORTNIGHTLY readers on " What Mr. Gladstone ought to do ".

† *John Ruskin*, by Peter Quennell. Collins. 15s.

‡ In *John O'London's Weekly*, January 6, 1950 : " Ruskin Practical Reformer ", by J. Howard Whitehouse, President of the Ruskin Society.

his magnificent swirls of poetry, has never been better told than by Humphrey Hare*. Queen Victoria had heard, she said, that Swinburne was the best poet in her dominions, but it was not surprising that Gladstone "demurred", and the laureateship went to Alfred Austin (!). The facts of Swinburne's life demand a certain irony of treatment and Mr. Hare fills the prescription. His account of Swinburne's tenancy of rooms in Rossetti's house in Cheyne Walk has a wry and glancing wit. It was suggested that Ruskin should join them but " this was more than Rossetti could bear." Ruskin was inclined to lecture him on tidiness and cleanliness as well as art. A further suggestion that Christina should come too seems to have been singularly misplaced, and not unnaturally Meredith's stay was short. " Did he not demand meals at regular hours, preach abstemiousness to Swinburne and horse exercise to Rossetti ? " says Mr. Hare.

It argues much for the fastidious Ruskin's sweetness of character that he bore so long with Rossetti's haphazard behaviour. Yet, indeed, though hardly as a satellite, he was happy to revolve round another and so dissimilar planet. His generosity, even to the payment of a pension to Elizabeth Siddal to relieve Gabriel's financial difficulties, is described from two very different angles in books† published inexplicably so close together without reference to each other. As Gabriel's niece, and the daughter of William Michael (who in both volumes shines forth as the angel in the Rossetti house), Mrs. Angeli had recourse to family papers and shared experiences, out of Professor Doughty's reach. On the other hand, his is the weightier book—literally too—because it treats the subject more objectively. His purpose is to explain and copiously document the events of Rossetti's life against which his spectacular endowments in painting and poetry seem to have been pitted, as if in battle, and to expose where necessary the clay feet ; hers is to defend her uncle from the unfairly picturesque treatment that his astonishing career invariably calls forth. In the matter of Ruskin's encouragement, therefore, the difference of attitude is one that permeates the whole of the two biographies. Mrs. Angeli says, " no words can do more than justice to Ruskin's generosity " but that " his discovery of Rossetti came hardly less as a boon to him." Professor Doughty has no such euphemisms ; Gabriel was " remote from Ruskin's delicacy ", " was crudely practical " and " jumped at the offer." Gabriel's own version : " He seems in a mood to make my fortune," is unvarnished enough.

It would be difficult to over-estimate the influence of Ruskin's early championship of the pre-Raphaelites as a body and later when

* *Swinburne*, by Humphrey Hare. Witherby. 15s.
† *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, by Helen Rossetti Angeli. Hamish Hamilton. 15s.
A Victorian Romantic, by Oswald Doughty. Muller. 25s.

they had gone their artistic ways. As William Michael wrote : " We have emerged from reckless abuse to a position of general and high recognition," a description that particularly applied to Gabriel. There is an unwearying fascination about the movement and its aftermath, and the chief characters in their heights and depths are hardly less enthralling. The Morris who to Ruskin was " beaten gold ", gradually grew completely apart from Rossetti's sway, and Ruskin himself was inevitably chilled by blatant disregard of his wishes. However loyally and properly Mrs. Angeli defends Gabriel's disinclination to fulfil his part of a bargain, it is still unpleasant to think of one, so blessed with personal charm and grace, so able to write that tapestried, painter's poetry of his, asking for an advance on its possible publication from the man who had less than a month before, in Professor Doughty's words, been " depleted by his generosity." These two books add their further gleanings to the great granary from which is drawn the inexhaustible interest in the later nineteenth century that, to eyes disillusioned by the first half of this one, would seem to have been the ideal time in which to have been brought up. Always provided, of course, that circumstances were comfortable enough to allow contemplation and comprehension of all the richness and variety of "the last romantics" then flowering above the grime of industrial expansion.

For it was a time in fact when Ruskin, in 1860 to be precise, was moved by what he saw to prophetic fire and scourging. His opening sentence :

> Among the delusions which at different periods have possessed themselves of the mind of large masses of the human race, perhaps the most curious—certainly the least creditable—is the modern *soi-disant* science of political economy, based on the idea that an advantageous code of social action may be determined irrespectively of the influence of social affection.

stated his case. " Social affection " Peter Quennell defines as " the respect that we owe to our fellow human beings." It would be no bad thing for this year of 1950 if in this month of February, party headquarters of all persuasions sent to every one of their parliamentary candidates a copy of *Unto This Last*. And, instead of the half truths and foaming vituperation of letterbox electioneering, the general public—that is, fellow human beings—might read the book too. The implications of its message are vital still.

OVER THE WATER

By Phoebe Hesketh

In Spring I must return to secret places
Of greenhood by remembrance revealed
In swift unbidden flashes when lost faces
Smile back unharmed across a trodden field.
In Spring I must surprise the dwindling river,
Replenish it from this sharp source of tears,
Confessing to the stream that love forever
Swells unsubdued beneath the bridge of years.

Beneath the bridge ! I lean again and wonder
At water wrinkling down the tides of time ;
A dipper finds a stone, a trout flicks under ;
For one held moment heart and nature rhyme.
A willow stoops to kiss a sure reflection,
And I am in the water and the tree
Where sunlight makes a shadow-world perfection
Puts on the substance of reality.

For time has not betrayed the moving finger ;
I turn back to the written page and look,
And in a timeless statement live and linger ;
The plot remains ; age cannot cheat the book.
And though the coloured summers flamed and toppled
From torchlight trees to rustle in dead lanes,
And though loved footsteps faded from our threshold,
Spring rises in us stronger for our pains.

And mist is risen and the mirror gleaming
Is crowded with all loveliness foregone.
Smoke flowers from the chimneys of my dreaming,
And buried secrets rise up in the sun.
And who is this bright boy beside me leaning
Over the water till our eyes unite,
Not in the flesh, but in the deeps of meaning
Where stars prick through the muddied world of night ?

SIGNPOST TO NOWHERE

By C. Henry Warren

THE signpost at the entrance to the chase points a white finger across the fields and says : " Public Green Lane leading to Little London." But the signpost lies. Its invitation was acceptable enough in those days (already another age, they seem) before Lord Reith, acting under the threat of invasion, ordered all directional signs and place-names to be removed—to the confusion, as it turned out, more of the defenders than of the invaders ; but nobody would from choice accept it to-day.

Of course, we were pleased to see the signpost back again : it was like an old friend returning after absence. Besides, we are zealous for our field-tracks and right-of-ways. They date back to the days when farm-hands had to walk to their work and chose the quickest way across the fields to do it ; and so they are, as one might say, bequests to us from the villagers of long ago. We therefore welcomed the little white finger: " Public Green Lane leading to Little London." But is a lane public when its gates are kept padlocked and festooned with barbed wire ? Part of the way consisted of an ancient " dool ", which is the East Anglian dialect name for a path across a ploughed field which may not by law be erased. But is it a dool any longer, when its edges have been ploughed to the width of a few inches, requiring the skill of a tight-rope walker to negotiate it ? As for the greenness, this has quite disappeared. Instead of daisied turf, walled in with wild roses and canopied with the song of skylarks, the roaming pigs have left a slough of mud resembling the bottom of a clay pond from which the water has been drained. From springy turf to slimy ooze, from song of skylark to grunt of pig . . . but I will refrain from drawing an obvious though possibly too facile moral. It is enough to say that the Public Green Lane leading to Little London is no longer either public or green, or even a lane at all.

And the tale of this deceitful signpost could be repeated all over the country. Nor is it only our footpaths and green rides that have been stolen from us. What about some of our commons ? I think of Morris Green, for instance, not far from my home, where no doubt the village dancers once trod to the tune of pipe and strings, and where, when such fashions passed, the cottagers were at least free to keep their geese and goats : it is all ploughed up now, a

contributor, however meagrely, to our national larder.

But a recitation of such instances would be tedious and no doubt these things had to be. At any rate, we tolerated them and foolishly put our trust in the promise that our commons, like our footpaths, would be restored to us in good time. It was decreed, for example, that farmers, when they ploughed up a right-of-way, should provide an alternative route : thus the public ownership of these ancient inheritances would be secured. But farmers were priority men, and still are ; and so they were not always called to account when, out of laziness or lack of concern for the interests of others, they disregarded such an order. So the footpaths disappeared, and is it surprising if we begin to doubt whether they will ever come back again ? The things we thought we were tolerating out of a temporary necessity have turned out to be downright theft of the rights of the common man.

The trend of events confirms us in our pessimism. Take a look round the countryside at some of the things that are happening to-day. The trees are disappearing at an alarming rate, and none is being planted in their place. Many a good woodland and productive field had to be sacrificed to make room for the airfields which scarred the country during the war. Some at least of the fields have been put back into production ; but how shall the oak and ash, good trees in their prime, be put back ? And now, as if this were not evil enough, since trees are essential to good husbandry as conservers of water and as homes for insect-eating birds, the remaining trees are going down by the thousand. I watch the great timber waggons go lumbering past my house all through the felling season, each bearing its chopped and mighty bulk to the nearest timber yard or railway station. If this goes on much longer, some of our fairest arable will soon be as bare as the back of one's hand.

How far away already seems that day when the hedgers, going their winter round of the fields, saved, out of foresight and something near affection, any good saplings they happened to come upon—not for their own use, or even perhaps for their master's, but for the generations still unborn ? But the hedger of to-day spares nothing ; his orders, by the look of things, are to hack the lot to the ground, saplings and all. What does it matter, anyway ? Presently there will be no hedges with saplings in them to spare ; for the fashion now is all in favour of laying land to land again, as was done when the open field system gave way to enclosure and agriculture took its first fatal step towards becoming just another industry. Indeed, as a recognized industry already, it is probably unreasonable to expect anything but a short term policy in agriculture to-day. If the farmer finds a ready solution to his problems of scarce and dear labour by grubbing up his hedges and ploughing in his ditches, it would be

foolish to expect him not to do so. As an industrialist, like any other, what has he to do, for instance, with such elusive factors as field-names ? Bell Rope Piece—why should he care that such a name harks back to the days when the rent of this particular field was set aside for the upkeep of the ropes in the church belfry ? Or Vineyards—what should he mind that this remembers the time when England grew its own grapes and made its own wines ? Moot Pightle, Slipe, Shallow Shot, Dow Pits, Moot Field, to take a handful of field-names from one parish only, are instances of the endearing fact that local history is as likely to be found written in furrow and sod as in the ink of learned historians. But why should the industrialized and harassed farmer be expected to bother about this ? Hasten the day (his attitude seems to say) when such names will be replaced by the neat and convenient formulae of A/43 and B/62 and C/441.

I instance such developments as these because they seem to me indicative of more than themselves. It used to be axiomatic with the good farmer that he farmed as much for tomorrow as for to-day, as much for his son and his son's son as for himself ; and the knowledge was never far absent from him that he must hand on his land at his death in at least as good heart as he found it. That kind of husbandry is out of fashion now. And so these developments in the countryside are indicative of a moral as well as of a physical change. I look at the faces of some of my old neighbours, men of the England of yesterday, and I ask myself whence comes the excellence they reveal —that quality of, shall I say, tender strength ? These were men who grew up with none of the advantages which to-day are taken for granted. They were not educated ; their working hours were long and hard ; their wages were small ; they knew nothing of those social and domestic amenities which we now find so essential ; and their horizon, both physically and mentally, was limited by the farthest field they could see from their own back door. And yet they had something, these old men. They were men of endurance. Above all, they were men of individuality.

" Always get over a stile," said Richard Jefferies ; and it is a saying capable of more interpretations than one. These old men never could resist a stile, and by climbing over it they discovered for themselves a whole host of things that are not to be discovered on the highway. They it was whose hobnailed boots trod out the paths across the fields to which the white finger post now invites in vain. Indeed, it might as well not be there. Apparently we have all got to keep to the highways these days.

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

DEMOCRACY'S HANDMAID

By John Armitage

"WE have embarked upon what is at once the most difficult, as it is the most worthy, of all forms of government, and one which proved beyond the political capacity of the most gifted of all peoples, the Greeks."* The quotation comes from a short but valuable contribution to educational discussion by Dr. Eric James, high master of the Manchester Grammar School. In it he begs his readers to think more of what a child should be taught and less of where or how, more of the facts that a child should know and less of the attitudes it should adopt and more of the capacity of the individual child and less of its social equality. The book is sympathetic to the needs of the ablest children but is none the worse for that. The balance has been wanting redress since, as Dr. James points out, education ceased to be a class luxury and became, if our kind of democracy is to be a possible form of government, a necessity for all. Moreover, he is surely right to warn us that the new processes of learning, which deify 'activity' tend to devalue, temporarily no doubt, the basic skills.

In spite of these necessary cautions and the physical shortages of good teachers and buildings, it is not difficult to retain a long-term cheerfulness about the future of our educational system and the help it is giving to democracy. We may march slowly, and even that is doubtful, but history is proof that the march is forwards. A short book to put into the hands of anyone of intelligence who doubts this forward march would be that by W. O. Lester Smith,† a professor of education now at London University but until six months ago one of the wisest of our directors of education. Tolerance is Professor Lester Smith's watchword and he neither under-estimates the task ahead nor minimizes the achievement so far. He reminds us:

> At the outbreak of the second world war there were over 75,000 pupils above sixteen years of age in maintained and aided secondary schools, and in 1938 these schools won more than half the open scholarships and exhibitions at Oxford and Cambridge, once almost a monopoly of the public schools. The old pupils of the secondary schools also held their own in the final examinations at these universities, contributing 156 out of the 293 who graduated in Class I in the last honours lists published before the war.

But the book's importance lies in its balanced expositions of the backgrounds to controversies which still disturb the educational peace. The chapters on "Religion" and "The State and the School" are particularly valuable and would be read with advantage by all contemplating letters to the editor of any newspaper on these subjects.

Another director of education, whose ability and lively assaults on obstructionists wherever found have put Hertfordshire first in the race to get new schools, has also written a most useful short book.‡ J. H. Newsom, whose Pelican volume shows signs of rapid compilation, is nonetheless successful in giving to parents a sound idea of the English educational

* *An Essay on the Content of Education*, by Eric James. Harrap. 5s.
† *Education in Great Britain*, by W. O. Lester Smith. Geoffrey Cumberlege. Oxford University Press. 5s.
‡ *The Child at School*, by J. H. Newsom. Penguin Books. 1s. 6d.

system and in telling them what goes on in the various types of school. Perhaps Mr. Newsom has not quite made up his mind how many of our present educational discontents he should disclose. He encourages, for example, all children over 15 voluntarily, as they are entitled to do, to remain at school but keeps silent about the difficulties of accommodation and teaching if they did. Of the modern schools' present attractions he gives an over optimistic account which will console few parents whose children fail to be selected for the grammar schools and the professional advantages they bestow. " Parents ", however, " are not selected for their fitness for their functions" he declares. It is a fair quip, which teachers will heartily enjoy ; parents, alas, are equally mistrustful of teachers. How to get enough good ones of both sorts is the greatest educational problem of all.

As for teachers, a great effort to overcome our post-war difficulties was made by the emergency training scheme. Men and women of slightly riper years than usual, most of them from the Services, were given a one-year intensive course which, because of careful selection, enthusiasm and the good quality of the recruits, proved on the face of it satisfactory. Miss Loveday Martin writes about this operation in *Into The Breach*, a pleasing account which leaves one glowing with a patriotic satisfaction at our ability to improvise. *

What the permanent results of this improvisation will be it is as yet too early to tell although there seems sound reason to suppose that one year in a good college at a slightly older age is at least equal to two years at 19 and 20. Miss Martin in writing this useful piece of contemporary history does well to approach the work of the colleges sympathetically yet with her critical faculties alert.

For ten years Mr. H. C. Dent has carried the fiery cross of his enthusiasm for education into most parts of the British Isles and beyond. No sooner have a few caught up with him than he advances further down the road of progress signalling others to follow. One of his more recent books *Secondary Education For All*†, though chiefly concerned with outlining the origins and development in England of secondary education, hits hard at those who support selection for secondary courses at 11 plus and the second chance at 13. Mr. Dent earnestly claims a diagnostic period between primary and secondary education to be essential. It follows that he wants all children to remain under the educational umbrella until 19. Some would pursue academic studies up to that age ; others, though working after 16, would be doing so as " a part of their education." Looked at in 1950 such a scheme is obviously politically impracticable. Yet who, knowing Mr. Dent will forecast that it will not be worked: already, later retirement, which is desirable, makes longer schooling possible.

Mr. Dent's other recent book is an historical outline particularly apposite to present times.‡

The recruiting and training of teachers, the selection of children for secondary education, the content of education particularly for the modern schools, these are some of our present problems. Probably many parents feel that over large classes and the need of new and better buildings surpass them all. Here economics are definitely against us. Schools are being built but too few, too slowly and often of materials which do not help design. *The Modern School* is therefore a book which will cheer all those whose despondency sometimes gains the upper hand.** Plainly building can be done and done really well.

---

* *Into the Breach*, by Loveday Martin. Turnstile Press. 5s.
† *Secondary Education for All*, by H. C. Dent. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 8s. 6d.
‡ *Part-Time Education in Britain*, by H. C. Dent. Turnstile Press. 5s.
** *The Modern School*, by C. G. Stillman and R. Castle Cleary. The Architectural Press. 21s.

ACCOUNT SETTLED, by Hjalmar Schacht. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. *Weidenfeld & Nicholson.* 15*s.*

When the remnants of the Nazi heirarchy were arraigned at Nuremberg the indictment charged Schacht on two of the four counts ; conspiring with his co-defendants to commit crimes against peace, and planning and waging wars of aggression. After his re-appointment (on Hitler's suggestion) as President of the Reichsbank on March 17, 1933, Schacht became Minister of Economics in August 1934, Plenipotentiary General for War Economy in May 1935, again President of the Reichsbank from March 16, 1937, until January 20, 1939, and a Minister without Portfolio until January 22, 1943. Evidence was available in quantity to prove not only his complicity but his active participation in Nazi Germany's war preparations. But three of the tribunal judges, applying a British rather than a continental standard of proof, concluded that on the all-important question whether he in fact knew before 1939 of the Nazi aggressive plans the case depended upon an inference which was not established beyond a reasonable doubt. Indeed they went further and, while finding that Schacht's work to finance and organize the mobilization of a maximum war potential for Germany was conscientious and vitally important and that he welcomed and took credit for his contributions to the early successful aggressions against Austria and Czechoslovakia (with which aggressive wars he was not charged), held that " had the policies advocated by him been put into effect Germany would not have been prepared for a general European war." The Russian judge protested in a detailed dissent against " the unfounded acquittal of the defendant Schacht."

Crimes must be proved beyond reasonable doubt ; probabilities usually suffice in politics. The character and rôle in German politics of this "financial wizard " are both so tortuous and ambivalent as to remain enigmas, possibly typically German enigmas. It is against a background of volumes of recorded history (which include the Nuremberg evidence) that Schacht now exercises his ingenuity to improve upon his acquittal and establish a new reputation. The reputation he seeks is that of a man of principle, wise, moderate and courageous, a creative collaborator who swam with the tide in 1933 but who had the sense to see the breakers ahead in 1939 and then became a one-man resistance group. His plea rests upon the disclosure of motives hitherto effectively concealed and the judicious distortion and selection of facts with the object of post-dating his adherence to and pre-dating his disillusionment with Hitler.

The argument inevitably encounters historical obstacles, and it cannot be held against Schacht's skill that flat contradictions abound which only a reader possessing the author's *souplesse* can possibly resolve. Thus, he was clever, and finance was child's play to him, but the rest of the world was deceived by Hitler and he was no cleverer than the rest of the world. He claims to be moderately democratic and Christian but Ebert (who first appointed him to the Reichsbank in 1923) is the only democrat for whom he has a good word, and he welcomed the Nazi plans for a rearmed and resurgent Germany so long as they were successful. He deplored Nazi excesses, which were bad publicity abroad and bad economics at home. The blood-bath of June 30, 1934, disturbed him. National Socialism could have been good government if Hitler had used less abnormal methods and kept a sense of proportion, but Hitler always wanted hot-house conditions and his collaborators were mostly uneducated thugs. He claims to have rescued some Jewish businessmen from extortion, but he accepted Jewish persecution as a matter of principle and signed anti-Semitic decrees. While under his management

there was no *Führerprinzip* in the Reichsbank, but it was "none other than a National Socialist institution." He claims to have worked ceaselessly against Hitler from 1938 until the Gestapo arrested him in 1944—not with any underground group but from inside: "I belonged to no circle—I was my own circle." He blames Chamberlain's Munich visit for thwarting his Witzleben *putsch* in 1938 and the generals for bungling everything on July 20, 1944; the civilians (Goerdeler and Co.) were useless and merely talked and card-indexed their supporters for the eventual convenience of the Gestapo. He is very indignant that the courage and patriotism of his lone-wolf mission should have landed him in the dock at Nuremberg.

The good parts of this mixed story are repeated many times, but arrogance and a sanctimonious nationalism are poor proofs of so slippery an alibi. Schacht has probably saved his neck for 73 years by never sticking it out too far in any direction. Yet his apologia is valuable for the light it sheds on German politics, present as well as past. There is shrewdness and malicious humour in the description of Hitler, the 'guilty man' who deceived everyone with charm and genius. On Germany to-day, despite his nostalgia for the comradeship and solidarity of Hitler's heyday and his contempt for the democratic incompetents now restored to office, he writes with authority and sense. An economic solution which will enable the Germans to earn their keep and stop living on alms is urgently needed, but any scheme (such as *Mehr Geld, Mehr Kapital, Mehr Arbeit*) propounded by this particular wizard is more than slightly suspect.

EWAN WALLIS-JONES.

THE PRESS AND ITS READERS, a Mass-Observation Survey. *Art and Technics.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Vague and sweeping generalizations bout the "power of the press" are neither new nor uncommon. At the one extreme is the attitude typified by Carlyle's approval of Burke's dictum that "there were Three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sat a *Fourth Estate* more important far than they all." At the other, is the modern cynic who declares that editors, in their anxiety for circulation, give to the public what the public wants; in short, that the press does not lead but follows public opinion.

Of late there have been various attempts, from various aspects, to reach the factual truth of this matter. The first was the Royal Commission on the Press set up in 1947. Next were the surveys made in 1947 and 1948 by the Hulton Press to ascertain the distribution of newspaper readership according to age, sex and class of readers. These were quantitative surveys, and produced some valuable—and surprising—results.

Then came a third inquiry beginning where the Hulton surveys left off. It asked (1) why people read newspapers, (2) how far newspapers influence their readers, and (3) how readers feel about what they read. Its aims, that is, were qualitative. The methods adopted were carefully spread geographically and among various classes of readers, and the results are now summarized.

Plainly this is not a stunt, superficial or propagandist, but a genuine investigation, penetrative in its methods and discerning in its interpretations, where interpretations are offered. Mainly, the book is content to place its summary of results at the reader's disposal and to leave him to draw his own conclusions.

Here, to give a flavour of its findings, are three sample answers to the question of why individuals read newspapers:

> "I always look at the 'situations vacant' and see if there's anybody I know that's died."
>
> "I read the *Evening Standard.* I buy it to keep me occupied when I'm travelling home in the 'bus at night, so as not to look at the fellow sitting opposite."

"Reading passes the morning, to tell the truth."

These have to be balanced against different and more satisfying answers to the same question. Even so, they are suggestive enough.

On the matter of a newspaper's influence on its readers' opinions: during the 1948 parliamentary discussion on the suspension of the death penalty, most of the readers of all newspapers opposed suspension though four national newspapers approved it. There is a similar lack of coincidence between the views of newspapers and of their readers on political issues. One reader in five has no idea which political party his paper supports; and, while ten per cent. of *News Chronicle* readers think their paper is Conservative seven per cent. of *Daily Mail* readers think theirs is Labour!

In view of such findings, we may well be less sure than either Burke or Carlyle that the press is the most important Estate of the Realm.

S. Reed Brett.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE BILL PROCEDURE AND STANDING ORDERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS: Vol. II, by O. Cyprian Williams. *His Majesty's Stationery Office.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

The author spent forty years in the service of the House of Commons, ending as Principal Clerk of the Committee and Private Bill Office. In volume I he gave a general history of Private Bill procedure in that House and the development of its standing orders dealing with Private Bills.

In this second volume he gives the text of each of the standing orders as it existed in 1942, and traces its history from its original form to the 1942 form. The standing orders underwent an extensive revision in 1945. The text of the orders as so revised is not given, but the effect of the alterations then made is in most cases mentioned at the end of the notes that follow the 1942 text. The book is thus essentially historical and detailed in character, and its main interest must be for those who are closely associated with the practical work of Private Bill legislation or are students of parliamentary history or concerned with parliamentary procedure in other countries.

The system of legislation by Private Bill has been in operation in this country for centuries, and has been used for a great variety of objects specially affecting the interests of particular areas, persons or bodies, such, for example, as the conferring of special powers upon local authorities, the compulsory acquisition of land, and the establishment and carrying on of undertakings necessitating the exercise of special rights or privileges not obtainable under the general law. The main characteristic of the system is its combination of legislative and semi-judicial processes. The Bill is introduced on petition from some body or person outside Parliament desiring its enactment and known as the "promoter" or "promoters" of the Bill. Persons or bodies injuriously affected by its provisions are allowed to deposit petitions asking for its rejection or amendment. The "committee stage" of the Bill is taken before a small committee of Members of the House, enjoined to act impartially, who hear the cases of the promoters and petitioners in much the same way as does a court of justice. The committee may allow, or refuse to allow, the Bill to proceed further, or may make amendments within the general scope of the Bill.

The first standing order was made in 1685, and since then the House has been assiduous in the work of adding to and amending the orders with the object of ensuring that justice is done to all interests, both private and public, affected by the Bill; that due notices are given, by advertisement and otherwise, of the intention to promote the Bill, and of its purposes; that proper steps are taken, by deposit of plans and

other documents in Parliament and public offices, to make known the nature of its proposals ; that the Bill is framed in accordance with the standing orders applicable to it, and its promotion is duly authorized, and that its passage through the House follows an appropriate course at all stages.

A valuable code of procedure, as this book shows, has gradually been built up in the light of experience.

F. N. KEEN.

MERCHANTMAN REARMED, by Sir David Bone. *Chatto & Windus.* 21*s.*

CHAMPLAIN, THE LIFE OF FORTITUDE, by Morris Bishop. *Macdonald.* 18*s.*

MEN IN THE TROPICS. Compiled by Harold Evans. *Hodge.* 18*s.*

A VAQUERO OF THE BRUSH COUNTRY, by J. Frank Dobie. *Hammond, Hammond.* 15*s.*

Sir David Bone follows in the familiar and distinguished tradition of the sailor turned man of letters. In September 1939 he had been on the point of retiring after fifty years in the merchant service ; henceforth he was to devote himself entirely to the writing of books. That the intention had to be postponed for nearly a decade must mean that we have been deprived of a number of books in the manner of *The Brassbounder.* But at least the interval has provided the author with new tales to tell. Sir David Bone describes *Merchantman Rearmed* as "largely an exercise in recollection." He has had to rely on unaided memory for most of his facts, since sailors in wartime are not allowed to keep diaries and even the ships' logs had to be sent for safekeeping to an Authority at Blackpool—what has become of them all, since 1945, we are not told. But this book is not purely a personal record, though it has been written as such. The author's adventures are, in miniature, the adventures of the Merchant Service in the 1939-1945 war. Wherever the work was hardest, there he seems to have found his way—unescorted passages across the North Atlantic, troop carrying round the Cape, the landings in North Africa, Sicily and Anzio and an episode in Russian waters. But it is not only his own tale that he tells. Many of the most picturesque gallantries of the merchant service have been collected together and then spread, casually and gracefully, through these pages—most notable of all, the fight of the little *Highlander* making, in August 1940, her customary passage from Aberdeen to Leith. The solitary battle of the *Highlander* against the Luftwaffe must have stirred the ghosts of the crew of the *Revenge,* and Sir David's telling does justice to the tale.

The remaining three books here reviewed share with *Merchantman Rearmed* the quality of manliness. They all tell of men who have led hard, active lives in an environment that did not favour the weak. *Champlain, the Life of Fortitude* was written primarily for a trans-Atlantic readership and it must inevitably make a quicker appeal to those who live on the soil which Champlain explored and conquered. Champlain is a name to which too little homage is paid in English history books. Mr. Morris Bishop's biography has the advantage, to the reader new to the subject, of incorporating many passages from Champlain's own writings. The author paints a vivid picture of the North American scene in the early years of the seventeenth century, of the impact of the French on Indian character and culture, and of the latter's defeat and decay. The book is well illustrated with contemporary maps and drawings.

Men in the Tropics is an anthology of British colonial writing from the earliest days of our overseas settlements to the beginning of the present century. Mr. Evans has aimed at combining a piece of entertainment with a work of reference. He has limited his sources to those who wrote of colonial life from personal observation, and he has included extracts from the works, mainly journals, of ninety writers

ranging chronologically from Sir Walter Raleigh to Mr. Winston Churchill. The extracts are skilfully ordered and linked, so that they make pleasant reading ; and there are many photographs. The book lacks only an index, which it deserves.

A Vaquero of the Brush Country is a narrative of the life of the Texas brush range in the great days of the cowboys. It records the story of John Young, who was in his time trail driver, sheriff, ranger and ranch manager. Professor Dobie tells the tale partly in John Young's words and partly in his own, and the result has the humour and tang which would be expected by those who know the author's *A Texan in England.*

GORDON WINTER

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF PO CHU-I, by Arthur Waley. *Allen & Unwin.* 18*s.*

Charles Wesley is said to have written 20,000 hymns. Po Chü-i, poet of the later T'ang Dynasty, must surely have equalled that record, beginning when he was five and continuing inexhaustibly till his death at 74. He did not, however, write hymns though he was a follower of Dhyâna Buddhism and aesthetically moved by its quietist teaching and beautiful temples. But anything and everything else inspired his pen—the scandals of political life, scenes of travel, the boredom of official duty, meetings and partings with friends, the pleasures of country retreat, books and wine. His political poems survived no longer than modern letters to the newspapers, with which Dr. Waley says they may roughly be compared ; but his lyrics and ballads are still sung in China and Japan.

This pleasant member of the flock of Epicurus, whom Chinese biographers have curiously scamped, has now been revived by Dr. Waley, who, collating Po's poems with great erudition and relating them to known historical events, has set before us a full-length, lively portrait. The opening pages

ENGLISH DRAMA FROM EARLY TIMES TO THE ELIZABETHANS

A. P. ROSSITER, M.A.

Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge,

University Lecturer in English

An outline, with detailed examinations of representative plays, of the growth of a native drama in England, up to the foundations of the Tudor stage. Due attention is given to the persistence of a histrionic tradition through the centuries of cultural confusion after the end of civilization as the Romans knew it ; and the aim of the book is throughout to relate dramatic or sub-dramatic forms to their environments, and to show them not as pieces in a literary-historic museum, but as the productions of living minds. The continuities of tradition and culture are shown in a close linking of the "renaissance" drama with the "medieval" and a major purpose of the book is to throw light not merely on the remoteness of the miracle, mystery and morality plays, but on the Shakespearian drama itself.

Frontispiece **16s.**

IN THE "SENIOR SERIES"

HUTCHINSON'S UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

when Po was poor and struggling are a trifle dry. But as scholarship raised Po to important positions in the T'ang Court (he was a doctor of the Han-lin Academy when only 35, composing State papers and setting the questions for official examinations) the story moves easily and attractively. Notwithstanding the general saying that " poets are no use at administration," Po was a capable official, and at various times, in Hangchow and Soochow, an able and popular Governor, though at Hangchow his drainage schemes roused some protest that they " left the fishes and dragons with nowhere to go."

Po was also remarkably adroit in avoiding the many pitfalls of official life. As always when a dynasty was beginning to decline, the eunuchs exercised an evil power ; of which Dr. Waley gives an amazing account ; and the greatest fell before them. Po suffered one rustication to an insignificant post, but in the main was lucky in spite of his often outspoken poems. The last ten years of his life, having retired altogether from office, he spent at Loyang, among books, musicians, singing girls, wine, and more poetry.

Dr. Waley gives translations of 100 new poems of Po Chü-i's. Some have a curiously modern flavour ; others written in retirement are pure Horace ; one long one, addressed to his dead brother, gives an interesting insight into the Chinese attitude to the departed—Po gives his brother a detailed account of the family's doings since his death and asks whether his brother " got any benefit from the good works done by the whole family on behalf of your soul last year ? " There are many interesting glimpses of the life of China 1,200 years ago : some readers will learn with surprise that the Tibetans (whom the communists now propose to " liberate ") were then a serious menace occupying large parts of north-west China.

The only complaint, in a book of great charm, that one would make is that Dr. Waley (of all people) repeats the vulgar error of writing " Kuantung" for " Kwangtung," the first syllables of the " Liang Kwang " provinces being identical, and " Kuantung " being the Manchurian promontory 1,800 miles away.

O. M. GREEN

INCLINATIONS, by Edward Sackville-West. *Secker & Warburg.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

To be a good reader, in an informed, discriminating sense, is almost as rare as to be a good writer. In *Inclinations* Mr. Sackville-West offers us a book of satisfying criticism which will delight the palate of the literary epicure as well as give sound nourishment to the student of letters, valuable because true appreciation of the arts is one of the tests, and vital necessities, of civilization.

Certainly, the author may claim a catholic taste, since his essays range over English, French and German literature, novelists preponderating, then poets, a diarist (Barbellion) and a painter (Delacroix). In his introductory chapter Mr. Sackville-West wisely defines his terms, the critical assumptions on which his judgments are based ; broadly, that an artist must have an imaginative vision, and that aesthetic virtues are interlinked with moral values. He writes : " The chief persons—those whose characters and fate form the apex of the plot or idea—must possess an appreciable education and/or sensibility. I take this point to be of cardinal importance. Indifference to it, as evinced by certain American novelists and their followers, is responsible for the hollowness and the childish values which afflict much otherwise gifted contemporary fiction." So, important characters, as well as the artist, must be articulate, and " the dialogue must proceed at a level above that of everyday life." Partly from this standpoint he proceeds to puncture Ernest Hemingway's inflated reputation, deservedly with reference to *For Whom the Bell Tolls* on the grounds that " one well-realized character (Pilar) and a

dozen arresting pages in 462 do not make a great novel," falsity of sex interest ("one eye firmly fixed on Hollywood") and that the book is often boring and meretricious.

But, I would make clear, Mr. Sackville-West is not one of those critics who appear to take pleasure in 'debunking' greatness, in a negative smartness at the expense of his authors. Clever and well-read himself in French and German as in English, with a professional understanding of music and a deep love of painting, by far the greater part of his response to his varied subject-matter consists of appreciation. The breadth of his sympathies impresses; for while he has Victorian leanings, shown in admirable essays on Dickens, *Middlemarch*, Meredith and Henry James, he is no less astute in dissecting the complicated patterns traced by the "bright pens" of two feminine contemporaries, Miss Compton Burnett and Miss Elizabeth Bowen.

Mr. Sackville-West's wide range can be indicated by saying that here are essays on *The Witch of Edmonton*, the Shelley-Hogg-Harriet situation; Mr. Day Lewis's Clark Lectures on the poetic image; *The Legacy of Germany in Music and Literature*, Rilke, Stefan George; Stendhal, and the novel of action as exemplified by Zola, Conrad, and Malraux. One relishes his approval for the classical perfection of Mauriac.

Finally, the book abounds in the author's own generous asides, *obiter dicta* whose wisdom and incisive spiritual comment point to the value he sets on the heritage of our menaced western Europe.

JOSEPH BRADDOCK.

RILKE: MAN AND POET, by Nora Wydenbruck. *John Lehmann.* 18*s.*

Sometimes a biographer arises with more than academic qualifications. By reason of a special private knowledge

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Family Limitation and its Influence on Human Fertility during the past Fifty Years

A scientific statistical analysis of birth control based on a questionnaire prepared by the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynæcologists.

4*s.* (4*s.* 4*d.*)

European Co-operation

A memorandum submitted to O.E.E.C. relating to Economic Affairs during the period 1950-52.

The programme on which the amount of dollar aid to be received by the United Kingdom will be assessed.

[Cmd. 7862] 1*s.* (1*s.* 2*d.*)

Council of Industrial Design, 4th Report

An illustrated account of the Council's work during the period 1948-9, which included much preliminary work for the Festival of Britain.

1*s.* 6*d.* (1*s.* 8*d.*)

Prices in brackets include postage

HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

York House, Kingsway, London W.C.2; 429 Oxford Street, London W.1. (Post Orders: P.O. Box 569, London S.E.1.); 13A Castle Street, Edinburgh 2; 39 King Street, Manchester 2; 2 Edmund Street, Birmingham 3; 1 St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff; Tower Lane, Bristol 1; 80 Chichester Street, Belfast; *or through any bookseller.*

BOOKS ON THE TABLE

Time was when the reverent layman saw in every doctor a potential Livingstone, Grenfell, Albert Schweitzer or Howard Somervell, who, though not necessarily devoting his life to the downtrodden in far places, would be imbued with the same spirit of self-sacrifice and love of humanity as theirs. Such a one is Canadian born TOM CULLEN OF BALTIMORE (*Geoffrey Cumberlege : Oxford University Press.* 21*s.*), whose long story, culminating in the Johns Hopkins' Professorship Emeritus of Gynaecology and the Presidency of the Board of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore City, is told by Judith Robinson, one of that small band of women journalists praised here last November. She swings a lurid light on operating tables and inarticulate students, but, through all the stresses of disease, and death, and miracle cures, she never lets the reader out of earshot of the gruff kindliness in the surgeon's voice. Idealism and horse sense come through teamed triumphantly in an enthralling book about a good man.

No vocation under Government

No such satisfying effect is produced by Donald McI. Johnson's A DOCTOR REGRETS - - - - (*Christopher Johnson.* 12*s.* 6*d.*), whose very title has an innuendo that is irritating. Much the slave of his hatred of what he terms " the Iron Curtain of State-controlled medicine," the author is a general practitioner turned publisher writing the first part of his autobiography. It is a pity that he engenders in his reader the same tension from which he himself is a sufferer, for, so far, his life story has all the ingredients for the making of an attractive book. Apart from his experiences in hospital and in practice, he was medical officer to the Cambridge University East Greenland Expedition of 1926, and two years later asked to go to Labrador for a short spell and was accepted as a Grenfell doctor. Of these adventures he writes well, and a number of photographs sustain the absorbed interest. It is when he is airing grievances, such as his dislike of tiresome patients, that he is himself tiresome. Apparently these are a doctor's natural enemies, to be despised equally with State interference in liberty. That the liberties of patients are also curtailed and that they too regard many doctors as enemies does not occur to Mr. Johnson, who, anyway, is now well-buffered from contact with the more tiresome of his book buyers.

Man of God

And now for refreshment in THE AFRICA OF ALBERT SCHWEITZER (*A. & C. Black.* 15*s.*). Those who grew up with the story of this man's achievement for inspiration, will share with Charles R. Joy and Melvin Arnold their wish that a new generation should not be unmindful of Lambaréné in French Equatorial Africa where " the philosopher-theologian - musician - physician began his work of mercy." These two undertook a pilgrimage to the hospital, where they " talked, ate and worked " with him for some weeks, and this beautiful book, illustrated on almost every page with their photographs and written in the kind of prose where no word is wasted nor vital detail left out, is their act of homage. It concludes with an essay by Dr. Schweitzer, " Our Task in Colonial Africa," which characteristically omits any reference to his own great contribution. He stresses the danger that native peoples " will assimilate the externals of our culture instead of what it possesses of value " and refrains from pointing out how like the rest of the world they are when he says : "One of the missionary's greatest tasks is to get the native to give up his idea that members of another tribe are foreigners and to recognize the ties that bind man to man." The Good Samaritan is surely about his business on the primeval forest's Jericho road.

A realist's life

THE STORY OF JERUSALEM (*Cresset Press.* 2*s.* 6*d.*) from the standpoints of Judaism, Christianity and Islam is presented by James Parkes with plenty of facts and maps. And not only the city of pilgrims but its modern life and the problems of Jew and Arab interests are also his concern in a thoughtful and sympathetic little book——A tribute to the outstanding success the then Sir Herbert Samuel made " of his difficult appointment as High Commissioner " in Palestine is paid by Geoffrey Shakespeare in LET CANDLES BE BROUGHT IN (*Macdonald.* 21*s.*). In this always entertaining autobiography one of the most vivid portraits is of Lloyd George, whose secretary the author once was. As Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Health in the National Government, as Parliamentary and Financial Secretary to the Admiralty in 1938, and in various other Government activities between the wars, he sheds a cheerful light on that dismal time, during which he became a " national liberal ". He is now what he calls a " realist " anxious to join progressive conservatives in order to " secure most of the measures which, as a liberal, I still regard as necessary." Nonetheless, in personal and public relationships he shows himself to be a happy man.

Craftsmen all

Another happy man is S. L. Bensusan, living among the Essex Marshland people he portrays so lovingly in his studies. RIGHT FORWARD FOLK (*Routledge & Kegan Paul.* 16*s.*) is another group of these, again embellished by Joan Rickarby's drawings, wherein no false notes in character, behaviour or speech are sounded. In pieces such as " Direction " or " Sanctuary ", real life and living are plain to see. And to those who know it not, the dialect never grows boring, which is praise for the folk and especially so for Mr. Bensusan's good ear : " You don't wanter talk blarsphemious, Ted Mole, t'ain't seem'ly," said Mr. Solomon Woodpecker the poacher to the poacher Mr. Mole, as they collided in the fog.——From snaring a rabbit to ENGLISH TOWN CRAFTS (*Batsford.* 15*s.*), there is a long line of descent—or perhaps ' ascent ' is morally the proper word—and Norman Wymer traces its continuity from the blacksmiths, thatchers, tanners, and the like, to the engravers, weavers, cabinet-makers, and so on, of the towns. The book is in fact a companion for his *English Country Crafts* and equals its many merits. From stained glass, silver work, musical instruments, to books and hats and chains and cricket balls, he leads the way, imparting history and technical knowledge lightly but surely as he goes. The many photographs reinforce his descriptions—and the reader's wonder at the ingenuity of man.

" Over the hills . . . "

In no sphere does he need it and his tenacity more than in the conquest of mountains. In THE EARLY ALPINE GUIDES (*Phoenix House.* 15*s.*) Ronald Clark re-creates the lives of those men " in the golden age of mountaineering without whom the exploits of Whymper, Mummery, Moore, Wills and many other great amateur climbers would not have been possible," and reproduces their photographs and charts. To the dizzy reader who has never found courage to climb even into her own attic above the yawning pit of the stairs, this book is awe-inspiring. But, by the same token, intrepid and merely dogged mountaineers alike, will recognize the hazards of pioneers who had to begin without guides, paths or huts, and will enjoy this reminder of their debt.——ONE MOUNTAIN AFTER ANOTHER (*Angus & Robertson.* 15*s.*) is the record of Arthur Groom's 21 years exploration in the McPherson Range, on the Queensland and New South Wales border. His many photographs, such as those of the bed of the Albert River at the entrance to the Black Canyon, of the Antarctic beech tree that is at least 3,000 years old, and of

flowers at an altitude of 3,800 feet corroborate his pride in the wonders of forest, peak and waterfall. Part of the region, "high and hilly" as Cook laconically called it in 1770, is now preserved as national parks, and the author's energy and enthusiasm, which are so manifest, have had a large share in establishing these. But he plans further, for "a tremendous scenic rim to Brisbane City, swinging in a wide arc from Point Danger at the Pacific Ocean, as far inland as the famous and historic Cunningham's Gap itself," and he will probably get his way.—— Another region of national parks is WEST OF THE ROCKIES (*Stanford.* 21*s.*). Ernest Young recently "ambled" mostly by bus and on foot from the Mexican border to the border of Canada and from the Rocky Mountains westward to the Pacific Ocean. He, too, has many photographs and diagrams and is also intensely interested in lakes, mountains and valleys, and why and how they came to be, with all their present wealth of flora and fauna. His book will probably wake more echoes in British breasts; Australia's remoteness and American films supply two important reasons for this. And indeed it is hard not to be overwhelmed by romantic daydreams of the old mission trails leading to places whose very names catch the breath; Santa Barbara, Sequoia and Yosemite, Monterey, the Wallowa and San Bernardino Mountains, Glacier and Yellowstone, the Cedar Breaks and Salt Lake City are poetry's own.

A lot of poems

Poetry here fulfils the warning that "the first shall be last," unwittingly and unwillingly—the one, because the books have coalesced at this end like mercury, and the other, because the rest of the page will look little better than a catalogue. First of all, there is SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS DATED AND OTHER ESSAYS (*Hart-Davis.* 21*s.*) by Leslie Hotson, who is described as "the most famous scholar-detective in the world." As well as the unravelment implied in the title, he has chapters to stir the wits with such headings as: "Love's Labour Won", "In Defence of Mercutio" and "The Adventure of the Single Rapier."—— Then, to add to the recent studies on the thought and work of Gerard Manley Hopkins, comes IMMORTAL DIAMOND (*Sheed & Ward.* 21*s.*) edited by Norman Weyand with the assistance of Raymond V. Schoder. All the contributors are fellow Jesuits, and Hopkins's connection with the Society, with creative writing and with Greco-Roman verse are naturally interpreted through the medium of the Roman Church. He is also assessed as a poet of ascetic and aesthetic conflict, of nature and of the supernatural, and a large section is devoted to what he called "the echo of a new rhythm" that had long been haunting him. Five more poets, headed by the Laureate himself, complete the tally. ON THE HILL (*Heinemann.* 8*s.* 6*d.*) has many flashes of that fire which lit "The Everlasting Mercy" and made everyone want to memorize "Trade Winds" and "Sea Fever." Lord Dunsany's TO AWAKEN PEGASUS (*Ronald.* 6*s.*) gives the pleasure of reading "Lilith" again, which appeared in the December number of THE FORTNIGHTLY, and the new enjoyment of the title poem. In THE OLD KNIGHT (*Dent.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) Herbert Palmer continues his theme of the triumph of good over evil in a sequence which includes "The Conquerors", another FORTNIGHTLY welcome guest. Then there are EPITAPHS AND OCCASIONS by Roy Fuller (*John Lehmann.* 6*s.*) and Clifford Dyment's POEMS 1935-1948 (*Dent.* 7*s.* 6*d.*), and there is just room to observe that the intellectual power of both develops, the first with quickened wit, and the other away from his early lyricism.

GRACE BANYARD

ADVERTISEMENT AND BUSINESS OFFICES: 4, 5 & 6, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON, W.1.
PUBLISHED FOR THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, LTD., BY HORACE MARSHALL & SON, LTD., Publishing Department, Temple House, Tallis Street, E.C.4
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY GEERINGS OF ASHFORD, LTD., 80, HIGH STREET, ASHFORD, KENT
PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND

To Overseas Readers . . . .

If you wish to receive THE FORTNIGHTLY regularly and are living in one of the countries in the list below, you can place your subscription order with the agent named Annual subscription to THE FORTNIGHTLY is £2. 2. 0 (six months £1. 1s.).

BELGIUM
Agence et Messageries de la Presse
14-22, Rue du Persil,
Brussels.
The English Bookshop,
75, Boulevard Adolphe Max
Brussels.

CEYLON
H. W. Cave & Co., Ltd.
P.O. Box 25,
Colombo.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Messrs. Orbis Newsagents
P.O. Box 240,
Praha 1.

DENMARK
Messrs. A. C. Illum,
Ostergade,
Copenhagen.

EGYPT
Messrs. N. & G. Chrissanthou,
25, Boulevard Saad Zaghloul
Alexandria.

FINLAND
Messrs. Akateeminen Kirjakauppa
Keskuskatu 2,
Helsingfors.

FRANCE
Librairie H. Le Soudier,
174, Boulevard St. Germain,
Paris.
Nouvelle Messageries de la Press Parisienne,
111, Rue Reaumur,
Paris 2e.
Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son,
248, Rue de Rivoli,
Paris.

GERMANY
Fa Ausland-Zeitungshandel,
W. F. Saarbach,
Frankenstrasse 14,
Koeln-Junkersdorf.

GREECE
Librairie Kauffmann,
28, Rue Winston Churchill,
Athens.

HOLLAND
Messrs. Van Gelderen & Zoon,
Postbox 826,
Damrak 35,
Amsterdam C.

HUNGARY
Messrs. Ibusz,
Akademia u. 10,
Budapest.

INDIA
Messrs. Newman & Co.,
3, Old Court House Street
Calcutta.
The Oxford Book & Stationery Co.
Park Street,
Calcutta.
Messrs. Varadachary & Co.,
8, Lingha Chetty Street,
Madras.

ITALY
Libreria Internazionale,
Ulrico Hoepli,
Galleria Piazza Colonna
Roma.

KENYA
Messrs. S. J. Moore,
Government Road,
Nairobi.

NORWAY
Messrs. Narvesens,
Kioskkompani,
Box 125,
Oslo.

PORTUGAL
Livraria Bertrand,
73, Rua Garrett. 75,
Lisbonne.

SOUTH AMERICA
Acme Agency,
Casilla de Correo 1136,
Buenos Aires.
Messrs. Casa Crashley Ltd.,
58, Ouvidor,
Caixa Postal 906,
Rio de Janeiro.

SPAIN
Sociedad General Espanola de Libreria,
Evaristo San Miguel 9,
Madrid
Sociedad General Espanola de Libreria,
Barbara 14 y 61 bis,
Barcelona.

SUDAN
The Sudan Bookshop,
P.O. Box 156,
Khartoum.

SWEDEN
Messrs. Wennergren-Williams, A.B.
Drottningsgatan 71 D,
Stockholm.

TURKEY
Librairie Hachette,
469, Avenue de l'indepondance, 469,
Istanbul.

U.S.A. and Canada.

Rate : Annual subscription $6.50 (U.S.), $7.00 (Canadian).

Brentano's Inc., 586, Fifth Avenue, N.Y. City, New York.
Crowley, Inc., 511-513, E. 164th Street, New York 56, New York.
Wm. Dawson Subscription Service, Ltd., 60, Front Street, West, Toronto 1, Canada.
The F. W. Faxon Co., Faxon Buildings, 83-91, Francis Street, Back Bay, Boston 15, Mass.
Herman Goldberger Agency, Inc., 147, Essex Street, Boston 11, Mass
Hanson-Bennett Magazine Agency, 529, S. Franklin Street, Chicago 7, Illinois.
International News Co. 131, Varick Street, New York 13, New York.
Moore-Cottrell Subscription Agencies, Inc., North Cohocton, New York
Mutual Subscription Agency, 1420, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.
National Publications Co., 1106, S. Broadway, Los Angeles 15, California
Smith & McCance 5, Ashburton Place, Boston, Mass.

Bleached . . .

The chemical industry's achievement in respect of chlorine is one of production. The consumption of chlorine has increased steadily since its discovery in 1774, and in recent years great efforts have been necessary to meet the ever-growing demands for this important chemical. Chlorine is one of the most reactive of the elements and, for this reason, it is never found free in Nature. In 1799, Charles Tennant of St. Rollox Works, Glasgow, combined it with lime to produce bleaching powder, and from that day forward, chlorine and its derivatives became intimately associated with the progress of industry. Now, in liquid or gaseous form, this versatile chemical is required in enormous quantities for the bleaching of paper and textiles, for sterilising water supplies, and for the manufacture of acids, disinfectants, drugs, plastics, refrigerants, solvents and countless other important chemicals, including the powerful 'Gammexane' insecticides.

Today most chlorine is produced by passing an electric current through brine. This process yields caustic soda and hydrogen as well as chlorine. Caustic soda is itself a valuable product, and the hydrogen may be combined with chlorine in a separate process to yield hydrochloric acid — yet another chemical of the utmost value to modern industry.

ICI